THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FORTY-NINE SECOND QUARTER, 1955

Some Observations on the Spanish and Foreign Editions of Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*

By DOROTHY MCMAHON

AGUSTÍN de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* is one of the early Spanish chronicles describing events in Peru from the period of the first plans for its exploration by Francisco Pizarro and Diego Almagro to the year 1550, when order had been restored after the series of civil and Indian wars and the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion. The work is comparatively well known, having appeared in twenty-six printed versions, Spanish and foreign, since its first publication in Antwerp in 1555 to its most recent in Lima in 1944. Bibliographers have listed or commented on all of these versions; but several items of bibliographical interest concerning them have escaped notice.

The most striking fact about the Zárate chronicle is the difference in content of Book V in the first edition and that in all subsequent editions. Book V deals with the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion in Peru, which resulted in the defeat and death of the first Spanish viceroy to that region. Zárate was himself a partici-

pant in some of the events described in this portion of his chronicle, which he may have written originally as something of an apology for his own acts while serving as auditor in Peru. In any case, the subject matter of Book V treats a period which was a delicate one for the Spanish government, and the changes in Zárate's text are primarily for the purpose of presenting the viceroy in a more favorable light.[1] Despite the revision in content it should be noted, however, that the 1577 edition is not completely divorced from the 1555 edition. Zárate undoubtedly referred to a copy of his original edition in preparing 1577, for in it he even reprinted the out-dated privilege under which the work had been issued originally as well as the dedication dated 1555.

The deviations in content appear as early as 1563 in two foreign editions, Italian and Dutch, which preceded the second Spanish edition (Seville, 1577) whose publication Zárate was still alive to direct.[2] The fact that the 1563 foreign editions are more similar to the 1577 Spanish edition than to the only known Spanish edition (1555) to precede them, could lead one to place some credence in the existence of an alleged Spanish edition of 1557 if he were not aware of the whole situation concerning this alleged edition, which, briefly, is as follows.

Charles Le Clerc made the first reference to such an edition in 1878 in his *Bibliotheca Americana*, with the following entry.

Zarate (Augustin de). Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Peru. . . .

[1] Cf. my article, "Variations in the Text of Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXIII (November, 1953), 572-586, for variant texts and discussion as to probable reasons for the changes.

[2] The "License to Print," dated 1576, of the 1577 Seville edition is addressed to Zárate as a living person. We know that Zárate went to live in that city as early as 1569, when 12,000 *maravedís* of income which he had from the government were transferred from Talavera to Seville. In 1575 he relinquished this income in favor of another in like amount, appearing in person in Seville before the public scribe Juan de Portes, who testified that Zárate was in good health and able to perform his duties for the king. Archivo de Simancas, *Mercedes y privilegios*, legajo 202, folio 23.

Sevilla, Alonso Escrivano, 1557, in-fol., cart. 400 fr.[3]

In the "Avant-Propos" of the same work, but beyond that part of it signed by Le Clerc, is a description of works especially worthy of the prospective buyer's attention.

N^os^ 1862-1865. A. DE ZARATE. *Historia del descubrimiento de las provincias del Peru.* 1557, ainsi que les traductions du même livre.[4]

Card catalogue descriptions at the Huntington Library and the Library of Congress refer to the 1577 Spanish edition of Zárate's work as the third, stating that the first edition appeared in Antwerp in 1555, and the second in Seville in 1557. In each case the card cites Le Clerc as the authority for the description of the alleged second edition. No book catalogue, however, describing Americana, other, of course, than Le Clerc's, mentions a 1557 edition. Le Clerc himself, in his 1867 *Bibliotheca Americana,* calls the Seville 1577 edition the second.[5] Inasmuch as any bibliographer might acquire additional data with the passage of time, Le Clerc's statement of 1867 could scarcely serve as proof that he was in error in 1878, but it could raise a question as to the accuracy of the later statement, especially so in that the only difference in Le Clerc's two descriptions is in the doubling of the digits in the dates, "1557," "1577." The publishers, Maisonneuve and Company, of the 1878 *Bibliotheca Americana* verify this hypothesis in the following passage taken from their reply of July 27, 1945, to my letter of inquiry.

Nous sommes très heureux de vous donner le renseignement que vous nous demandez: l'ouvrage de ZARATE a été annoncé par erreur dans la Bibliotheca Americana à la date de 1557, une faute d'impression s'est glissée et il faut lire 1577.

After the publication of the 1577 edition, which may safely be considered the second, Zárate's work did not again appear in

[3] Charles Le Clerc, *Bibliotheca Americana* (Paris, 1878), p. 487.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. xiv.

[5] Charles Le Clerc, *Bibliotheca Americana* (Paris, 1867), p. 392.

a separate Spanish edition until 1944, although both Barcia in the eighteenth century and Vedia in the nineteenth published it as part of their collections.[6] All of these editions are related to the 1577 edition rather than to the original 1555 edition. In physical appearance, the 1577 edition is superior to that of the first edition, and, according to Palau y Dulcet,[7] is much more valuable and sought after; but the content of the first edition is superior to that of any of the subsequent editions, Spanish or foreign, in that all deviate in important respects not only from it but also from what appears to be Zárate's manuscript of the latter portion of the work.[8] This difference in subject matter has heretofore escaped the attention of both bibliographers and historians, despite the wide circulation of the work and its use as source material for the period of the Gonzalo Pizarro rebellion in Peru by numerous historians including Kerr, Robertson and

[6] Andrés González Barcia, ed., *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1749), Vol. III; Enrique de Vedia, ed., *Historiadores primitivos de Indias* (Madrid, 1853), Vol. 26 of Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de autores españoles*. According to Joseph Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana* (New York, 1936), XXIX, 267, the Zárate portion of the Barcia collection was printed in 1731. Sabin makes no explicit comment as to whether the material in the 1749 collection represents a new edition, a reissue, or simply the original issue delayed; and I have been unable to find either an earlier Barcia version of Zárate or even any further reference to it. Because Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos*, a posthumous work, makes no reference to revisions, and because of the format of the 1749 volume, it is probable that the portion dealing with Zárate is a new issue rather than a new edition. (Cf. my unpublished dissertation, "An Edition of Book V of Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*," University of Southern California, 1947.)

[7] Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* (Barcelona, 1927), VII, 266.

[8] The manuscript is at the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville, *Patronato Real*, legajo 185, ramo 38. Prescott's reference to a Zárate manuscript at Simancas called my attention to its existence in an archive as recently as the last century. I was especially eager to examine the manuscript, as I wanted to know how similar it might be to the 1555 edition. Unfortunately, Simancas had no record of ever having had such a document. Through a research grant from the Del Amo Foundation I was able to spend 1948-49 in Spain looking for the manuscript, which it was reasonable to suppose might well be in the Archivo General de Indias, even though the Archive had no record of it among its listings of materials received from Simancas. By dint of examining a great deal of sixteenth-century manuscript material received by the Archive from Simancas I finally came upon the one I needed, and was able to secure a microfilm of it to continue research in this country.

Prescott among those writing in English. Prescott believed that he had seen the Zárate manuscript at Simancas and mentions that the printed version differs greatly from the original.[9] What Prescott did not realize was that the 1749 Spanish edition (Barcia's) from which he quotes is not faithful to the original edition. Jan Kermenic, in a bibliographical note to his 1944 Lima edition, quotes José Toribio Medina to the effect that what Prescott saw was not a manuscript of Zárate's work but rather one by Albenino. Nicolao de Albenino (or Albelino) was the author of a *Verdadera relacion de lo sussedido en los reinos e prouincias del Peru* printed in Seville in 1549. The work had been so rare until 1924, the year when Medina discovered a copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, that bibliographers had begun to doubt that it ever existed in printed form. In 1939 the John Carter Brown Library acquired from Lathrop C. Harper a fine copy of the Albenino 1549 edition, the only one known other than the one located in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Medina had ten facsimiles of the Bibliothèque Nationale copy made, one of which is now in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California. The manuscript now at Seville is definitely not the manuscript of the Albenino work; but it is in all probability an early draft of Books V, VI, and a small portion of VII of Zárate's 1555 edition. The wording of the manuscript and 1555 is not precisely the same in all passages, but there are some identical passages, and the similarity of phraseology throughout the two is much too close to be explained by mere coincidence. Both versions have essentially the same material, arranged in the same order. The Albenino work, on the other hand, differs greatly from the manuscript in language and in scope and arrangement of details, as well as in its more severe attitude toward Gonzalo Pizarro. The Kermenic discussion of the manuscript mentions that Barros Arana, the modern Chilean historian, knew that the eight-

[9] William H. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru* (Philadelphia, 1874), II, 494-495.

eenth-century Spanish historian Muñoz was familiar with an unsigned manuscript which he declared to be the rough draft of Books V, VI and a few chapters of VII of Zárate's *Historia* and that Muñoz explained the differences between the two by assuming that Zárate had called on a professional man of letters to improve his work before publishing it.

Despite Medina's stated belief that both Muñoz and Prescott were in error in believing that they had seen a Zárate manuscript, a comparison of the manuscript now at Seville, Zárate's 1555 edition, and Albenino's work shows definitely that this manuscript is the source to Zárate and not to Albenino. The confusion arose, I believe, because the manuscript had been lost to scholars for some time, and because it was not realized that the first edition of Zárate, which is very close to the manuscript, is different in several important respects from all subsequent editions, the ones with which Prescott and Medina certainly, and Muñoz probably, were comparing it. As far as I know, no scholar has as yet encountered any manuscript on which the later editions, Spanish or foreign, are based. There must, however, have been some such later manuscript version or versions; for Spanish 1577, all subsequent Spanish editions, and all foreign editions, even those as early as 1563, are different in content in Book V from the only known Spanish edition (1555) to precede them.

Foreign versions of Zárate's work are more numerous than the Spanish,[10] consisting of one Italian: 1563; six Dutch: 1563, 1564, 1573, 1596, 1598, and 1623; nine French: 1700, 1706, 1716, 1716, 1717, 1719, 1742, 1774, 1830; and four English: 1581 (Books I to IV only), 1812, 1824, 1933 (Books I to IV only).[11]

[10] There are the four Spanish editions, 1555, 1577, 1749, 1853, already mentioned, a reissue in 1862 of the 1853 *Biblioteca de autores españoles* edition, and a fragment in José Toribio Medina's *Colección de historiadores de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1901), Vol. XXVII, consisting of chapters one to four of Book III, a portion of Zárate's chronicle dealing with Almagro's expedition to Chile.

[11] For a more complete description and discussion of both Spanish and foreign

Inasmuch as there are two distinct printed Spanish versions of Zárate's *Historia*, that of 1555 and that of 1577 with its descendants of 1749, 1853 and 1944, a most important factor in the translation is its Spanish source. There have been four independent translations directly from the Spanish into as many languages, and a later English translation of the French edition of 1742. Three only of the direct translations will be considered, for the first English translation (1581), including as it does only Books I to IV, does not involve any material which differs appreciably in the Spanish editions. The remaining three translations are not based directly on either of the two sixteenth-century printed Spanish sources, although all evince the same expurgatory tendencies characteristic of the 1577 edition.

According to the dedication of the Italian edition (1563), the translator is Alfonso Ulloa.[12] Ulloa does not state his Spanish source, which is unfortunate, for the edition presents some interesting points. In those passages which indicate in the 1577 edition a desire to change the tenor of the 1555 edition, 1563 is essentially like 1577; but in numerous other passages where the difference between 1555 and 1577 is politically innocuous, the Italian edition tends to be like 1555 except in those cases in which the translator could have emended a faulty grammatical construction independently.[13] The 1563 edition presents the account of the viceroy's last battle, one of the major points of difference between 1555 and 1577, essentially as it is presented in the 1577 edition, but even in this account there are two variations in 1563 not present in either 1555 or 1577.

1555: The viceroy did not know that Gonzalo Pizarro was to be present at the battle.

---

editions see my unpublished dissertation, "An Edition of Book V of Agustín de Zárate's *Historia*. . . ." The 1577 edition, for example, has a license to print dated 1576, and a *tassa* on the verso of the title-page dated 1578.

[12] Alfonso Ulloa, translator, *Le historie del Signor Agostino di Zarate contatore et consigliero dell' Imperatore Carlo V. Dello scoprimento et conquista del Peru* (Vinegia, 1563).

[13] Cf. examples of variant texts.

1563: The viceroy did not impart to his captains intelligence to the effect that Gonzalo Pizarro was to be present at the battle.

1577: The viceroy told only his captains that Gonzalo Pizarro was to be present at the battle. (Bk. V, Ch. XXXV)

1555: The viceroy could urge his men forth to battle only with great effort.

1563: The viceroy delivered a comparatively long and well-poised speech to his men reminding them of the Godliness of their cause, and praising them for their eagerness to defend their king as befitted their rank and nobility.

1577: The viceroy's speech is the same in tone as it is in 1563, but appreciably briefer. (Bk. V, Ch. XXXV)

The Italian edition is the translation of a source, presumably manuscript, revised primarily for the purpose of changing offensive passages; it bears evidence also of some attempt to provide a better reading in certain passages, but not to the same extent as was the case in the source from which 1577 was later taken.

Despite the fact that the title-page of the Italian edition bears the words *Con Priuilegio*, none appears. Zárate's Italian family does not descend beyond 1563. Sabin[14] lists two Italian versions for this year: one, with colophon, at the John Carter Brown Library; another, without colophon, also at John Carter Brown, and at the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, and William L. Clements Library. Sabin seems to be mistaken, however, for there is only one known Italian version. Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth of John Carter Brown very kindly provided me with a description of the editions of Zárate at that institution, in which he states that they have at John Carter Brown only the one Italian issue for 1563, the one with colophon, and that there is a possibility that the same book may have been inadvertently entered twice in Sabin because of someone's having failed to notice the colophon, which is printed below the Register on the last

[14] Joseph Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana* (New York, 1936), XXIX, 267.

page. A microfilm reproduction of the copy at the Library of Congress, which was said by Sabin to be without colophon, does show one, the only real item of difference listed between the two alleged versions. The description in Sabin of the two title-pages varies slightly,[15] but the variations are such that they can be readily accounted for by assuming that two persons described the same page. (A committee was in charge of the general oversight of Volumes XX-XXIX. The actual editing of the work was done at first by Wilberforce Eames and then by R. W. G. Vail and his Sabin staff.)

According to a statement at the conclusion of the first Dutch edition (1563)[16] of Zárate's chronicle, Rumoldus de Bacquere, scrivener to the king, made the translation at Mechlin. The book has a "License to Print" on the verso of the title-page, stating that the translation was made from Spanish to Dutch at great cost to Willem Silvius, printer to the king, and that he is to have exclusive printing rights, including translations, for the next six years. The license is signed by H. Boot. It manifestly raises a question as to the status of the Italian 1563 edition. Did it precede or follow the Dutch edition of the same year? Even if it did follow, however, its publication was not necessarily a violation of the rights accorded to Silvius, for while Antwerp was under Spanish rule in 1563, Venice was independent, although with waning power, throughout the sixteenth century.[17] The Italian may well have preceded the Dutch edition, for Ulloa

[15] The distribution of capital letters according to Sabin's presentation of the two title-pages is not precisely the same; however, Sabin does not reproduce entire lines in upper case fount, although it does print *v* instead of *u* in words such as *Perv* and *Conqvista* when the line described was originally in upper case. In the copy from the Library of Congress several lines of the title-page are in upper case. The edition with colophon is described as having a printer's device on the title-page after the words *Con Priuilegio*. No such comment is made concerning the alleged other edition, which, in the copy belonging to the Library of Congress, does have such a device.

[16] Willem Silvius, printer, *De wonderlijcke ende warachtighe historie vant Coninckrijck van Peru* (Thantwerpen, 1563).

[17] William Robertson, *The Reign of Charles V* (New York, 1864), p. 498.

signed his introductory material in December of 1562; Silvius, in October of 1563. Moreover, the Dutch license is not dated until August of 1563, which would indicate that this edition did not appear until comparatively late in 1563. From the preceding section it will be remembered that the Italian edition, although proclaiming that it has a license, does not actually print any such license. It may be that the authorization, if it ever existed in fact, was for a single printing only; that it was revoked; or even that the authorities did not realize that the Dutch and Italian translations were of the same work, for the Dutch edition has suppressed all of the original preliminary material, including even the author's name. It has instead an entirely different title-page, which bears no author's name, and three leaves of preliminary material original with this edition. There is no "Table of Chapters,"[18] but the edition does contain a "Table of Important Things" and marginal summaries, two elements present in the Italian 1563 edition but not in the original Spanish edition; however, neither of the 1563 editions could have taken these features directly from the other, for the material itself in the table and in the summaries is not the same. As for Zárate's text in this edition, it too shows the result of an effort to change or suppress offensive passages. It is even closer to Spanish 1577 than is Italian 1563, for in chapter thirty-five it states that the viceroy told only the captains of the presence of Pizarro, and it presents the viceroy's speech of encouragement to his men in very brief form. Just as in the case of the Italian 1563 edition, the Dutch, in those cases in which there is a comparatively unimportant difference between 1555 and 1577, is sometimes like one, some-

[18] Spanish 1555 and Spanish 1577 have this feature, but 1577 makes the curious error of printing a Table of Chapters that contains the wording of chapter headings as they appear in 1555 instead of as they are in 1577, a most curious oversight, for the Table was revised for appropriate changes in foliation. Italian 1563 also has a Table of Chapters, but its wording is appropriate to chapter headings as given in its own text.

times the other, but not always in the same way in which the Italian edition is like either 1555 or 1577. There is a certain progression toward greater accuracy in the reading of variant passages, which lends some credence to a hypothesis that the 1563 Italian and the 1563 Dutch and the 1577 Spanish editions are based on successive revisions of a common ancestor.[19] All of the six Dutch versions of Zárate proceed from the same translation.[20]

The title-page of each of the nine French versions states that the work has been translated from the Spanish by "S. D. C.," who is identified in the copies in the Library of Congress and in L.C. files as Samuel de Broë, Seigneur de Citry et de la Guette. The text of all of these versions is the same, aside from variations in mechanics. It is like the preceding foreign editions in that passages considered offensive in the 1555 Spanish edition are like the 1577 edition, while variants between 1555 and 1577 which represent merely efforts at correction or improvement, or which are very possibly inadvertencies, are, just as in the Dutch and Italian editions, sometimes like 1555, sometimes like 1577. Neither do they always coincide with either of the other two translations. Following is a list of typical variants. (Of the numerous Dutch and French editions, Dutch 1563 and French 1700 are the only ones cited, because in these passages succeeding versions are invariably the same in text although not always in mechanics.)

[19] Cf. examples of variant texts.

[20] Dutch 1564 and 1574 are reissues of 1563. A new edition, also bearing the words *Rumoldus Bacquere Tabellio Regius Mechliniae transtulit* at the conclusion of Book VII, appeared at Amsterdam in 1596. It is essentially like 1563; the dedication, however, has been suppressed, the words *Conqueste van Indien* have been prefixed to the title, a map of South America has been added to the title-page, and variations in spelling (*geseyt* for *geseydt*, *die* for *dye*, etc.) have been introduced. A reissue of this edition was made in 1598. A final Dutch edition (1623) has essentially the same text as 1596, the only variations occurring in spelling (*solt* for *soldt*, *ghevangen* for *gheuangen*, etc.), punctuation, and inadvertencies (*Aldava* for *Aldana*, *Serva* for *Serna*, etc.).

Italian and Spanish 1555 are alike; Dutch, French, and Spanish 1577 are alike:

1. 1555: Demas desto embio al Capitan Gueuara (Bk. V, Ch. XXXV)
   1563: Oltre a cio, mandò il Capitan Gueuara
   1577: Gonçalo Piçarro embiò al capitan Gueuara
   1563: Capiteyn Gueuara by Gonzalo Pizarro
   1700: Pizarre . . . envoia le Capitaine Guevara
2. 1555: guardar los presos (Bk. V, Ch. V)
   1563: per guardia de' prigioni
   1577: guardar los pasos (better reading)
   1563: om de passagien te bewaren
   1700: garder les passages
3. 1555: Gaspar Rojas (Bk. V, Ch. XI)
   1563: Gasparo Rogias
   1577: Gaspar Rodriguez (better reading)
   1563: Gaspar Rodriguez
   1700: Gaspar Rodriguez

Italian, Dutch, and Spanish 1555 are alike; French and Spanish 1577 are alike:

4. 1555: Capitanes a sueldo (Bk. V, Ch. XI)
   1563: Capitani a soldo
   1563: Capiteynen dye op soldt
   1577: Capitanes a su toldo (better reading)
   1700: Capitaines dans sa Tente
5. 1555: otras muchas cosas (Bk. V, Ch. XXVIII)
   1563: lequali cose
   1563: diuersche andere redenen
   1577: otras muchas razones
   1700: les raisons

Italian, Dutch, French, and Spanish 1555 are alike; Spanish 1577 is unique:

6. 1555: auia dicho publicamente (Bk. V, Ch. IV)
   1563: haueua detto publicamente
   1563: openbaerlijck geseydt hadde
   1700: avoit dit publiquement
   1577: auia dicho

7. 1555: Gaspar Rojas (Bk. V, Ch. IX)
   1563: Gasparo Rogias
   1563: Gaspar de Rojas
   1700: Gaspar de Roias
   1577: Gaspar Rodriguez (better reading)
8. 1555: Balthasar de Castro (Bk. V, Ch. XI)
   1563: Baldesar di Castro
   1563: Balthasar de Castro
   1700: Baltasar de Castro
   1577: Balthasar de Castilla (better reading)
9. 1555: Pedro de Puentes (Bk. V, Ch. XXI)
   1563: Pietro di Pontes
   1563: Pedro de Puentes
   1700: Pierre de Puentes
   1577: Pedro de Fuentes (better reading)
10. 1555: prision del Visorey (better reading) (Bk. V, Ch. XXI)
    1563: prigione del Vicere
    1563: dat hy gheuangen was
    1700: avant apris sa prision
    1577: prouision del Visorey
11. 1555: en el alguna mas guarnicion (better reading) (Bk. V, Ch. XXVIII)
    1563: alcuna gente in guarnigione
    1563: latende daer was meer garnisoens
    1700: une garnison un peu plus forte
    1577: en el agua mas guarnicion

The above list is not exhaustive. I have collated the foreign editions with passages which do not coincide in 1555 and 1577, and from the collation it is clear that the source from which 1700 was translated is prior to the one on which the 1577 edition is based; but it is not entirely clear to me in what order Dutch and French were translated, for there are some few examples, atypical, which might indicate that French preceded Dutch:

1555: escuridad escaparon (Bk. V, Ch. X)
1563: con la oscurità scamparono

1700: se sauvérent à la faveur de l'obscurité
1577: escuridad de la noche
1563: . . . den nacht

1555: De como se rompio la batalla de Quito, en que fue vencido y muerto el Visorey (Bk. V, Ch. XXXV)
1563: La Rotta della Sanguinosa Giornata di Quito, nellaquale morí il Vicere
1700: De la Bataille de Quito & comment le Vice-Roi y est tué
1577: De como rompió la Batalla de Quito
1563: Vanden Stack van Quito

In both of these cases the Dutch translator might have emended independently, and the similarity with 1577 may be coincidental.

The French editions resemble the Dutch and the 1577 Spanish editions, rather than the Italian, in that the viceroy is said to have told only his captains of the presence of Gonzalo Pizarro, and his speech of encouragement is most similar to the speech as given in Spanish 1577. Seigneur de la Citry's translation appears to be based on a Spanish source, most probably a manuscript, which had undergone revisions intermediate to 1555 and 1577—intermediate because the 1577 edition shows still more revisions, occasionally with unhappy results,[21] than does the first French edition (1700). The pattern in the variants indicates that none of the editions was derived directly from another, but that all were derived from a common source which passed through successive revisions. If, as appears certain, French 1700 is the translation of a source revised prior to the one used in preparing Spanish 1577, then all direct translations are based on a source revised during Zárate's lifetime, and could therefore represent changes introduced or approved by him.

Of the nine French versions of Zárate's *Historia* I have been able to examine all but one, Guignard's, 1716, which Sabin lists as proceeding from French 1700,[22] and about which Dr. Law-

[21] Cf. examples 10 and 11.

[22] Sabin, XXIX, 265-266.

rence C. Wroth very kindly answered my queries. There are variations in typography in the eight versions I have seen except for 1717 and 1719, which are identical in form in all respects, even to a poorly inked catch-word *cet* on leaf /[10] verso in the first volume[23] of each issue, save in title-page. The respective title-pages, however, are very much alike in make-up and content, 1719 even proclaiming that it too is a second edition revised and corrected.

French 1717 was not itself in fact a second edition, although its printer, De Lorme, was probably acting in good faith when he made the claim. It was he who first published a French edition (Amsterdam, 1700), and he may not have known of the intervening Paris versions, one in 1706 and two in 1716. Despite the fact that these three bear a *Privilege du Roi*, they probably constitute pirated editions as far as De Lorme was concerned. Certainly they were issued without profit to him, for Amsterdam and Paris were not under a common government in the early eighteenth century, and the period precedes by a long interval any system of international copyrights. De Lorme's text is the basis for both 1706 and 1716 editions, and the same frontispiece which graces his 1700 edition appears also in 1716, but with the central figure facing in the opposite direction! A few changes in Zárate's dedicatory material in the 1716 versions do not reappear in De Lorme's 1717 and 1719 versions. The same plates which he had used for the 1700 frontispiece are still with him, and this time the central figure is again facing in the same direction that he was originally.

Subsequent French editions stem from 1716. The final edition, 1830, was published as something like a PWA project. The government paid for it to afford work to the typographers.

The only reasonably complete English translation of Zárate

[23] All of the French editions are published in two volumes. What were the first three chapters of Book V in all previous editions are given as the last three chapters of Book IV. The purpose of the change, presumably, was to equalize the size of the volumes.

is in Robert Kerr's *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1812). Kerr explicitly states his source, the French edition of 1742, and he explains his policy in translating.[24] While the substance of the work is faithful to its French model, it could with greater accuracy be designated an arrangement rather than a translation, for Kerr abridges to a certain extent the French text, and interpolates, with due notice, lengthy passages from Garcilaso and Robertson. Apparently he was unaware of the 1581 English translation of Books I to IV of Zárate's chronicle,[25] for he refers to his own version as "the work which we now offer to the public for the first time in the English language."[26]

Summary of Findings Concerning Zárate's "Historia"

1. The content of Book V in the 1555 Spanish edition differs in important respects from that of all subsequent editions. Spanish and foreign editions after the first evince the same expurgatory tendency.

2. There is no 1557 Spanish edition.

3. There is but one Italian edition of 1563, not two.

4. There are three complete direct sixteenth-century translations: Italian, Dutch, French; an English translation directly from the Spanish of Books I to IV; and a nineteenth-century English translation of a French translation.

5. The Italian, Dutch and French translations were made from a source, or sources, presumably manuscript, other than either of the two sixteenth-century Spanish editions.

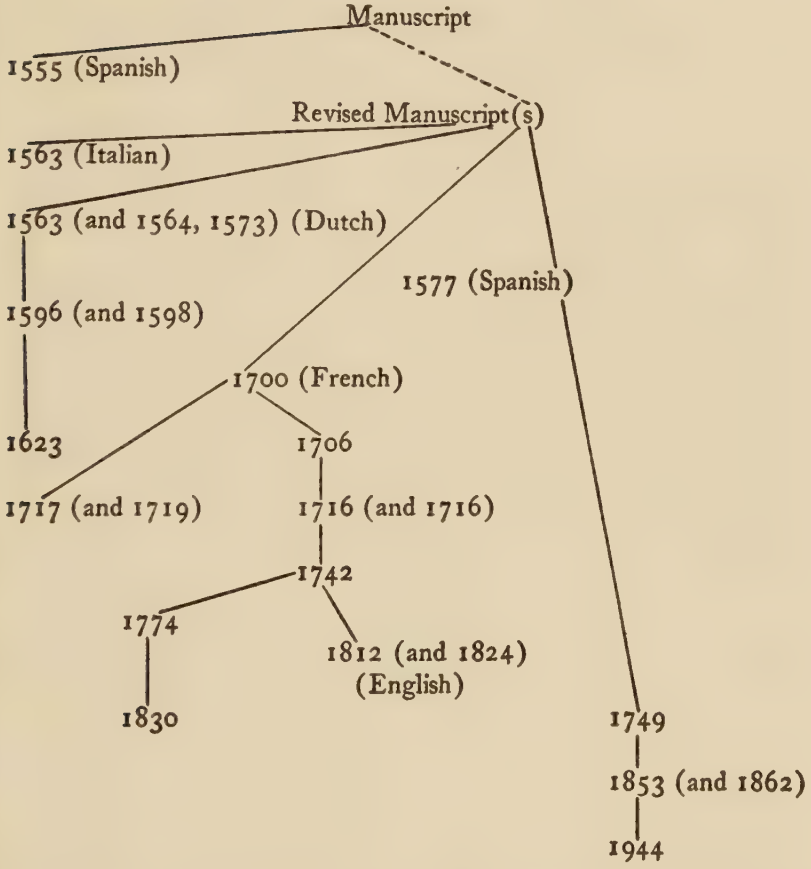
6. Some of the foreign editions (Italian 1563, Dutch 1563, French 1706 and 1716) may well have been pirated editions.

[24] Robert Kerr, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (Edinburgh, 1812), IV, 330. This work was reissued in 1824.

[25] Agustín de Zárate, Thomas Nicholas, translator, *The Strange and Delectable History of the Discouerie and Conquest of the Prouinces of Peru, in the South Sea* (London, 1581). A reprint of this edition, prepared by D. B. Thomas, was released by the Penguin Press, London, in 1933.

[26] Kerr, p. 328.

Diagram of Relationships[27]



[27] The broken line represents a hypothetical relationship, the solid lines, an established relationship.

Obadiah Rich: Bibliopole

By Adrian W. Knepper

In recent years scholars have expended much time and effort on the history of American historiography of the first half of the nineteenth century. They have criticized and evaluated the works of Washington Irving, George Ticknor, William Prescott, Jared Sparks, and several others. Too often, however, they have concerned themselves with the lives of the authors or with their finished works. Not nearly enough research has been done to determine the nature of sources used by these early historians, how they were obtained, and how they were used. To appreciate the work they did, it should be noted that there were then few documents in the United States dealing with the history of the Americas, or that of any other country. This made it difficult for a scholar to undertake work of even a purely literary nature. Even the standard reference works were lacking.

> It falls somewhat heavy upon a writer here, that he must make a collection for himself of such works as in other countries are prepared for him in the public libraries.[1]

Although several such people in the United States could afford to buy source material, few were able to go to Europe to do research, or wished to do so. What was needed, then, was a man with the intelligence and interest to act as an agent for American scholars.

A possible solution was given by W. H. Prescott, writing in the *North American Review*.

> Neither of Mr. Irving's late writings (*Life of Columbus* and the *Con-*

[1] Prescott to Rich, January, 1828. William H. Prescott Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Hereafter cited as M.H.S.

quest of Granada) could have been compiled from materials existing in any or all of the public libraries of this country; and this independently of the manuscript authorities used by him, which may be supposed not easily met with out of Spain. The same remark is predicable of most of the historical works, which daily appear in France, Germany, and England. One cause of our deficiency in such original documents, and, indeed, in all but the more obvious and classical productions of literature, has been the difficulty of meeting with an intelligent agent in Europe, competent to the selection and purchase of such works. Whatever impediment, however, has been occasioned by this circumstance is now removed. Mr. O. Rich, the late American Consul at Madrid, . . . has transferred his residence to London; where he devotes himself to the execution of such commissions for the purchase of books as he may be entrusted with by his country-men. . . . He has uniformly executed his orders with promptness, sagacity, and great economy. His accurate bibliographical knowledge and his extensive correspondence through all the principal cities of the continent, afford such facilities for the literary acquisitions, as we hope will be improved by public institutions and private individuals. We feel that we are doing a service to the cause of letters in recommending this gentleman, whose useful labours have well entitled him to this public testimony.[2]

It is likely that Rich would not have been discovered so soon, had not Irving journeyed to Spain in 1826 to translate the *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV*, by Don Antonio Fernández de Navarrete, for it was here in Madrid that he found, buried amidst a wealth of Americana, Obadiah Rich, consul, bibliopole, and bibliophile.[3]

Of respectable New England parentage, Rich was born in June, 1783, and was baptized on July 13 at Truro, Massachusetts. His father was Captain Obadiah Rich (1758-1805), master of the brig *Intrepid* during the later years of the Revolution, and his mother, Salome (Lombard) Rich (1761-1807). He was the first son and second child of a family of four sons and three daughters. About 1790 his family moved to Boston, where he

[2] William H. Prescott, "The Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada by Fray Antonio Agapida," *North American Review*, LXV (1829), n., 314.

[3] Obadiah Rich, *Bibliotheca Americana Nova* (London, 1846), p. 208.

served an apprenticeship in the "Compting house" of Crowel Hatch.[4]

Although Rich seems to have received little formal education, he was soon interested in scholarly pursuits. He studied natural history, and about 1815 published anonymously *A Synopsis of American Plants*, a copy of which he presented to Thomas Jefferson.[5] Even though his interest in this subject was to continue throughout life, his ruling passion became the bibliography of the Western Hemisphere.[6]

Rich attracted some local attention as a bibliographer, and in 1805 he joined the Massachusetts Historical Society. In 1807 he became a charter member of the Boston Athenæum, and in 1834 he was elected to the American Antiquarian Society. He also became a member of the Albany Institute, and the Pennsylvania and New England Linnaean Societies.

He early won the respect of the Boston merchants by participating in a dispute between the local fishing interests and those of Great Britain. About 1809 his ". . . good conduct and fidelity procured him at the proper age the consignment of a valuable Cargo to Spain, where he resided for several years, and transacted considerable business for his friends in Boston and elsewhere. . . ."[7]

Remaining abroad for several years, Rich traveled as far east as India. He married at Alicante, Spain, Ann Montgomery, daughter of Robert Montgomery, then consul there. Born to this marriage were four sons and two daughters. The sons—John, George, James, and William—were all at one time or another associated with their father's business in London, and John and James assisted him with his consular duties, acting as vice-consuls at Port Mahon. The elder daughter, Anna, married a

[4] Benjamin Homans to James Monroe, July 14, 1815. General Records of the Department of State, National Archives. Hereafter cited as Archives.

[5] Homans to Monroe, *ut sup.*, Archives.

[6] Obadiah Rich, *op. cit.*, n.p.

[7] Homans to Monroe, *ut sup.*, Archives.

General Reyos of the Spanish Army, later Commander of the Eastern Department in Cuba; the younger, Julia, died in London in 1829. The disturbances of the Peninsular War caused Rich to return in 1812 to the United States, where he resided at Georgetown.

In 1809, while Rich was in Spain, his merchant friends recommended him for the newly proposed consulate at Valencia. This post was not then established, however, and he apparently returned in order to secure an appointment elsewhere. From 1812 to 1816 he traveled through the southern states, and made several applications for consulates in or near Spain. While at Georgetown he conducted himself in a manner which ". . . acquired the friendship and esteem of his acquaintances . . . ,"[8] and was a man of ". . . fixed republican principles, confirmed by experience, and intelligence, upon the foundation of a good education, early impressions and correct habits."[9]

He was recommended by the Rev. William Bentley to Thomas Jefferson in the following terms:

> Mr. Rich has discovered great affection for Natural History. His virtue is pure, & his manners amiable. He is enriched by his travels, & by his uncommon attainments. As one of the most worthy of our New England men, I leave him with a man I delight to honour.[10]

Finally, in the latter part of 1816, President Madison appointed him consul to Valencia, where he stayed for seven years.

He did not prosper here, and was soon seeking government employment elsewhere. However, the situation improved somewhat with the Revolution of 1820. He immediately presented his credentials and felicitations on the new régime to the Constitutional Ayuntamiento of Valencia.

> On seeing Liberty restored to a nation so worthy of it, I contemplate

[8] N. Smith, *et al.*, to Monroe, July 31, 1915, Archives.

[9] Homans to Monroe, *ut sup.*, Archives.

[10] Bentley to Jefferson, April 16, 1812, Library of Congress. The Thomas Jefferson Papers.

with admiration the happy means by which it has acquired it, and the good order observed in all parts, but particularly in this capital in the midst of such interesting occurrences: and now as this nation like my own enjoys the happiness of being free, I have considered it my duty to be among the first to manifest upon so happy an occasion these my sentiments and those of my fellow citizens.[11]

His felicity was short-lived, however, due to the restoration of Ferdinand VII by Royalists and the French Army. Rich was summoned to Madrid by Minister John Forsyth to act as consul and to protect the records of the Legation, which was about to remove to Seville. In Madrid he did protect the archives, and, in a small way, he preserved the dignity of the United States when they were threatened by the intrusion of French *militaires*. In 1823 two of the *militaires* demanded of Rich that they be billeted in his quarters, where the archives were stored. He produced his credentials and the Arms of the United States in an effort to resist them. They informed him in turn that they would return expecting accommodations for the night. Rich then proceeded to file a formal protest with the Duke of Reggio, their commanding officer. The incident was closed with the disciplining of the two offenders. However, Rich remained in the midst of affairs, reporting events to the Secretary of State.

After the Revolution, Rich remained in Madrid as Acting Secretary to the Legation until 1826, and then as a private citizen until 1829. Although his diplomatic career was not one of brilliance, he seems to have discharged the duties assigned him in a manner satisfactory to his superiors.

Mr. Rich's employment as Acting Secretary of the Legation terminated with the close of the last quarter in consequence of the arrival of Mr. Smith about that time. I think it proper to mention upon this occasion that I have been quite satisfied with the manner in which Mr. Rich performed the duties of the office, and that I consider him a valuable public servant, as well as an upright industrious and intelligent man. Should the

[11] Rich to the Constitutional Ayuntamiento of Valencia, April 5, 1820. Record Group 59, Consular Dispatches, Valencia, Volume I, Archives.

government ever establish at this place any such employment as Consul General or Agent for claims with a salary, similar to the offices of that kind at London and Paris, Mr. Rich is the person who should on every account be invested with it.[12]

Apparently Rich's official duties were not so burdensome as to prevent him from devoting much of his time to collecting scientific data, and documents and books relative to the histories of Spain and America. In 1819 he urged the government to appoint him consul general to Madrid, so that he might pass on to the United States the results of the experiments being held in the Royal Botanic Garden and buy books for the Library of Congress.[13] Although unsuccessful, he continued throughout his life to petition for some such post.

In spite of his failure to interest the government, Rich amassed a large collection of rare and curious works. Prevailing economic conditions were such that he was able to obtain many valuable items at very low prices, and it was through his activities that Americana became a recognized field of scholarship. According to Trübner:

> Indeed, had there been no buyer for them on the spot, at the moment of the dispersion of many old libraries, both ecclesiastical and civil, during the progress of the Revolution, it is probable that many volumes of the greatest rarity and interest would have perished altogether as waste-paper. To Mr. Rich belongs the merit of having awakened the attention of other European booksellers to the subject of the earlier American History beyond the limits of the American Continent; and the principal London booksellers, who dealt in rare and valuable books at that period, became his great competitors in the book market.[14]

Rich seems to have been moved by other than mercenary motives in making his collection. If original editions of a work

[12] A. H. Everett to Henry Clay, April 9, 1826, Record Group 59, Diplomatic Dispatches, Spain, Volume 25, Archives.

[13] Rich to J. Q. Adams, July 24, 1819, Valencia, Archives.

[14] Nicholas Trübner, *Bibliographical Guide to American Literature* (London, 1859), pp. xiv-xv.

could not be had, he procured manuscript copies. As a result, his collection of Spanish American sources became one of the most complete in existence. Among others, it contained the works of Peter Martyr, Juan de Mariana, Bartholomew Las Casas, Jerónimo Zurita y Castro, Hernando de Pulgar, Gonsalvo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes, and many other historians of high repute. Among the manuscripts were a letter by Cortes and an unpublished play by Lope de Vega. He also possessed sketches and studies of such artists as Murillo. Thus Irving, upon his arrival in 1826, was easily persuaded to do more than the translation of Navarrete's work.

There may be some doubt as to why Irving went to Spain, since he was attached to the Legation. Irving has, however, clearly stated his own purpose:

> There is a very interesting work printing at Madrid, "The Voyage of Columbus"; compiled from his papers by the famous Bishop Las Casas, and in part composed of extracts from Columbus's journal. It is in Spanish, and I have undertaken to translate it into English, Mr. Everett, our minister at Madrid having secured it for me . . . has attached me to the legation, which will be of service to me in travelling in Spain.[15]

Irving, who lived in the Rich home, soon decided to write a biography of Columbus.

> I am occupying myself at present in writing the life and voyages of Columbus; I do not wish it to be known, however, but wish it supposed I am busied about the translation. In the curious collection of Mr. Rich I find materials collected together, which I should otherwise have had to hunt for through public libraries, and I have under my hand the most rare and curious works relative to the discovery of America. The work which I had intended to translate is a voluminous mass of mere documents, which afford excellent materials for a work, but which in their present form would repel the general class of readers. I am in hopes of making a work that will be acceptable to the public.[16]

[15] Irving to C. R. Leslie, February 3, 1826, from C. R. Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections*, ed. Tom Taylor (London, 1860), p. 170.

[16] Irving to Leslie, April 21, 1826, *ibid.*, pp. 179-180.

Rich himself seems to have little doubt of his influence on the work.

> The world is indebted for this work to the compiler of this Bibliotheca. He first suggested that Mr. Irving should undertake it, and urged Mr. Everett to induce him to come to Madrid, not to translate Navarrete's Collection, but to write the "Life of Columbus." During his residence in Spain he had collected ample materials for such a work, and was happy to place them at the disposal of his distinguished countryman.[17]

Although Irving wrote little else while staying with Rich, he undoubtedly gathered material for his *Conquest of Granada* and his other Spanish books. He left in 1828, but he was soon in need of Rich's services. Later in the same year he planned a new edition of Columbus, and wrote to Everett that "The hints of honest Rich will be of great service."[18]

Among others who visited Rich's home in Madrid were Prescott and Longfellow. It seems to have had an ideal atmosphere for the scholar.

> We are buried in the very depths of a great rambling Spanish house; our windows look upon a small garden, three parts of which are surrounded by the house. Our windows open to the floor with iron gates to them, through one of which we have a wicket by which we can enter the garden. We have the stillness of a cloister, with now and then the bell of a neighboring convent to help the illusion.[19]

Rich was an obliging host, and did his best to accommodate his traveling countrymen. Irving wrote to Leslie: "He is . . . a most excellent and amiable man . . . I . . . have never been more pleasantly situated."[20]

Since Spain was not the center of the book trade, and probably because he had lost all connection with the government, Rich in 1829 removed to London, where he established himself as a

[17] Obadiah Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[18] Irving to Everett, May 7, 1828, Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving* (New York, 1862), II, 316.

[19] Irving to Leslie, February 23, 1826, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[20] Irving to Leslie, April 21, 1826, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

bibliopole at 12 Red Lion Square. He seems to have been persuaded to make this move by Jared Sparks, whom he had met in London the year before. Here he did business with the leading booksellers, including Payne, Foss, and Rodd. He acted as agent for the Library of Congress, the Boston Athenæum, the Massachusetts Historical Society, Harvard College, and several other institutions in the United States. Among his more prominent English clients were the British Museum and Lord Kingsborough.

Bibliopoly was apparently a difficult trade to enter, but Rich seems to have met with little difficulty in acquiring the confidence and respect of his associates.

> . . . in London my credit is such that I can obtain *on credit* from the first house books to *any amount*, where other booksellers with whom they have dealings would not be trusted for one pound. I am the only *American Bookseller* who is invited to the *Trade Sales* where my bills at 8- 12- and 16 months, without endorsement to any amount I choose to purchase, are taken in Payment.[21]

In spite of Rich's ability to get along with his English brethren, those in the United States were often hesitant about helping him. He used the *North American Review* to advertise his wares, but on more than one occasion had difficulty with the firm of Gray and Bowen in getting his advertisements included in the journal. On one occasion he writes of them to Sparks:

> As they, as well as most of the other Booksellers in America, appear not to be *well inclined* towards me, they may not be willing to insert it (an advertisement). I shall feel much obliged to you to *request* them to do it.[22]

Perhaps this was in part due to his success in achieving the respect and coöperation of his European competitors, as compared with their failure to do so. In any case, he was never as successful with his competitors in the United States.

[21] Rich to Sparks, October 15, 1832, Harvard.

[22] Rich to Sparks, October 15, 1832, Harvard.

Rich's association with the Library of Congress was not very satisfactory, although he was its agent for over eighteen years.[23] Evidently many congressmen did not favor any large outlay for books by the government. In 1827-28 he submitted to Congress a collection of 93 Spanish manuscripts and 383 books. Although many of these were original and very rare, Congress failed to buy them.[24] Neither Rich nor Prescott was happy over the matter. Prescott wrote: "I fear the Congress will not have the liberal spirit enough to purchase your American Library. Our legislators love money more than books."[25] He did supply Congress with some works, and continually petitioned it through various friends, among them Joel Roberts Poinsett, John Forsyth, Henry Cruse Murphy, and Rufus Choate, to grant him wider powers to purchase all kinds of books.

With Harvard, Rich was successful. To it he was able to sell many books from his collection, and he held its agency from about 1827 to 1845. In 1844 he made his last big sale to the College of £650 worth of the more common works, and several such rare works as Hariott's *Virginia* for £20, *Oviedo* and *Heres* for £10, and Courier's *Politique* for £18. The result of his efforts was to make Harvard's Americana collection, with which his name, as Sparks told him, ". . . will forever be associated,"[26] one of the most complete in the United States.

In 1834 the Public Records Office presented copies of its publications to twenty-one American libraries. The recipients were, among others, Harvard, the Library of Congress, Brown University, Dartmouth, and the Universities of St. Louis and Ohio. Rich acted as liaison officer in accepting this gift, much to his elation.

[23] Rich to Secretary of State, March 1, 1845, Record Group 59, Consular Dispatches, Port Mahon, Volume II, Archives.

[24] *Sessional Papers*, U. S. 20th Congress, 1st Session, 1827-1828, House.

[25] Prescott to Rich, June 29, 1829, M.H.S.

[26] Sparks to Rich, March 29, 1844, Harvard.

I am about to be the medium of transmitting a present from the Mater Pulchra to the Filia Pulchriora, which I think will cause a sensation.[27]

Prescott, however, was not so sure that the Daughter deserved such a gift.

I have received with much pleasure at the Athenaeum a catalogue of the works to be sent us by the British government. It is a present indeed, well worthy of the most enlightened times and from its character and amount reflects the highest honor on the government, who could make it. I wish we were more deserving of it, but to speak honestly our own Executive is conducting in so scandalous and reckless manner, that there is danger of our becoming a subject of compassion rather than consideration to the rest of the world. But we must rely on the good sense of the American people, a phrase which has more of humbug in it than I actually thought. But this is stepping out of our way.[28]

Rich on occasion worked with other scholarly institutions. Once, while in Spain, he aided the British Museum in buying the Spanish Arabic collection of José Antonio Condé.[29] Later he was to sell various other works to the Museum, and in return was allowed to have copies made for American scholars from many of its collections.

Perhaps his greatest service to Englishmen was that rendered Lord Kingsborough. Since Rich so well knew the libraries of Spain and their contents, he was able to locate many manuscripts necessary for Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*. In 1832 Rich, with the latter's needs apparently in mind, wrote:

I left ten scribes employed in Madrid with twelve months employment, having obtained an order from the King to have all MSS relating to America in the Libraries and Archives of Spain held at my disposal to take copies of such as I thought proper.[30]

When Kingsborough's work proved ill-fated, Rich was able to

[27] Rich to Prescott, February 28, 1834, M.H.S.

[28] Prescott to Rich, May 7, 1834, M.H.S.

[29] *Annual Register*, 1850-1851.

[30] Rich to Sparks, April 4, 1832, Harvard.

obtain his manuscripts in 1845. These amounted to sixty large folio volumes which he sold to Henry Stevens, who in turn sold them to James Lenox.

In retrospect it seems as though Rich had found a lucrative business, but he claimed to have had little financial success. He was trying to interest the public, especially in the United States, in a new field of scholarship, and found it difficult.

> I am so little satisfied with the results of my exertions to serve my countrymen here, that I contemplate with much pleasure my retirement to the pleasant little island of Minorca. I am trying to find someone with as good a will and a better head, to take my place in the "Bibliographical business," and should be much gratified if I can meet with such a one.[31]

It should be remembered that free-spending collectors like John Carter Brown and James Lenox were not frequent before 1845. Scholars were often satisfied with copies of rare works, since they could not afford the originals.

In 1832 Rich obtained Governor Bernard's letter books and correspondence, in five folio volumes weighing thirty-eight pounds. He tried at various times to sell them to the City of Boston or the Massachusetts Historical Society for a thousand dollars, but could find no one interested at that price. After selling extracts from them to Peter Force, he finally disposed of them to Henry Stevens for an undisclosed amount.

Although business improved for him but little, Rich remained a bookseller with the aid of his sons. In 1834 he was appointed consul to the Balearic Islands, a post which he held for ten years until relieved of it by an Act of Congress. During this time he was continually on the move between London and Port Mahon—usually traveling through France and Spain. Perhaps this appointment allowed him to keep up his book business.

Though he had so many original sources in his possession, Rich never undertook any literary production of his own except

[31] Rich to Prescott, January 20, 1835, M.H.S.

for his work on American plants, and a small work entitled *A General View of the United States* (1833), which, perhaps, was to serve as a rebuttal to the rather supercilious account of this country's customs in 1829 by Captain Basil Hall, who had traveled through the United States in 1827-1828. It was a general discussion of our educational and other social and political institutions. He did, however, publish some important bibliographies of Americana. The first of these was *A Catalogue of Books Relating Principally to America, Arranged Under the Year in which They Were Printed, 1500-1799*, published in 1832. Two supplements were added to this. The second was the *Bibliotheca Americana Nova* (Vol. I, 1701-1800; Vol. II, 1801-1844), which was published in 1846. Rich also compiled a *Bibliotheca Americana Vetus*, but the manuscript was left in a hackney coach and used by a butcher as wrapping paper. Only a few sheets were recovered.[32] According to Justin Winsor, "His bibliographies are still valuable, his annotations in them are trustworthy, and their records are the starting-points of the growth of prices."[33] Rich also printed various sale catalogues. Lists of his offers to Congress are to be found in the *Sessional Papers* or in manuscript in the National Archives.

Fortunately for Rich, there were scholars in the United States who had the money to take advantage of his services, and had a profound interest in Spanish and Italian literature and in Spanish-American history. It is, perhaps, surprising to find two young Puritans, Prescott and George Ticknor, interested in such matters, but as early as 1823 they were wondering about the reality of Petrarch's Laura.[34] They, and others, thought it necessary to obtain complete sets of the *Classici Italiani*.

Ticknor's interest in things Spanish probably began with his

[32] Trübner, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

[33] Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Cambridge, 1889), I, iv.

[34] Prescott to Ticknor, December 17, 1823, New York Public Library.

travels in Spain in 1818, when he became acquainted with José Antonio Condé (1766-1820), the Spanish Arabic scholar. In 1846 he wrote to his friend, Pascual de Gayangos:

> Are there any of your Spanish books that you are willing to part with? If there are, I pray you to let Rich take a list of them; for it can hardly happen, that there should not be among them books I should be very glad to possess; for I am now all the time occupied with Spanish Literature.[35]

In the same year he sent both Rich and Gayangos a catalogue of his collection, and gave them *carte blanche* to buy for him whatever he lacked. He thus accumulated a Spanish library which is perhaps only surpassed by that of the Hispanic Society of America. (He bequeathed it to the Boston Public Library.) Much of the success of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* he attributed to Rich's services.

> A few days ago, I heard of the death of our old friend Rich, in London. He was an excellent man, who has rendered me many kind services, and I shall miss him much. I was glad to know that my acknowledgment of the obligations I have owed to him, reached him in the Preface to my History a little time before his death.[36]

Of the scholars interested in Rich's Spanish Collection, Prescott was perhaps the most important and prolific. Rich shipped him the first box of books in 1827, and they were to continue for over twenty years. Since Prescott's vision was badly impaired, Rich had to be most particular with his selection of manuscripts and printed works, and often he had to search long for a suitable copy of a particular document.

Prescott began his *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* about 1827, and published it ten years later. During this time Rich was continually selling and lending sources to him, to the extent that he was ". . . a sort of godfather to it from its first

[35] Ticknor to Gayangos, June 28, 1846, from *George Ticknor: Letters to Pascual de Gayangos*, ed. Clara Louise Penney (New York, 1927), pp. 127-128.

[36] Ticknor to Gayangos, February 18, 1850, Penney, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

conception."[37] Prescott wanted him to act as his literary agent, but Rich referred him to Thomas Aspinwall, who arranged for its publication by Richard Bentley.

No sooner was *Ferdinand and Isabella* published than Rich began sending both books and manuscripts for the *Conquest of Mexico,* then the *Conquest of Peru,* and finally, the *History of the Reign of Philip II.* Among them were the *Crónica del Gran Capitán . . .* (Gonzalo de Córdoba [1453-1515]), *Anales de la corona de Aragón,* by Jerónimo Zurita y Castro (1512-1580), *Bibliotheca Hispana nova* and *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus,* by Nicolás Antonio (1617-1684), and *Ensayo Crítico Histórico,* by Juan de Mariana (1536-1624).

Prescott, like others, came to trust Rich's bibliographical knowledge completely. When he wanted extracts made from the *Acts of the Cortes* Rich informed him that they would be useless, and Prescott was content to abide by this decision.[38] To Prescott he was ". . . a prince of Genii in the bibliopolical way."[39]

Although Rich's specialty was the bibliography of Spanish-American historiography, he also helped Jared Sparks by supplying source material, managing the sale of some of the American editions of his works in England, and acting as agent for the *North American Review.* Usually Sparks' requirements were easily satisfied at low prices and without much effort.

> I send enclosed a list of books concerning Dr. Franklin, which I wish you would procure the whole, and more if possible, but at any rate as many of them as you can. Please to get for me everything about Dr. Franklin which comes under your eye.[40]

Some of these were: Chalmers' *Collection of Treaties,* Broughman's *Colonial Policy,* Nicholas' *Observations of Historical Literature,* and *Champlain's Voyages, 1613.* More important to Rich were

[37] Prescott to Rich, January 9, 1836, M.H.S.

[38] Prescott to Rich, August 10, 1836, M.H.S.

[39] Prescott to Rich, October 27, 1834, M.H.S.

[40] Sparks to Rich, October 27, 1831, Harvard.

Sparks' constant efforts in persuading Harvard to buy his books.

Rich's competitors for the American book market were mostly Europeans until 1845, when Henry Stevens, Jr., of Vermont, appeared on the London scene. Stevens had learned the ins and outs of the book business while working for Peter Force.[40a] More important, however, he was fresh from the United States and knew what his two chief clients, Brown and Lenox, wanted and how much they would pay. Added to this was his youth. He began to complicate life for Rich.

> The reckless manner in which the last [Stevens] has gone on purchasing rare books on America has raised the price on them beyond all limits.[41]

It seems as though Rich could not realize the lengths to which bibliophiles would go to get what they wanted.

> James Lenox, Esq. of New York buys everything *rare* relating to America and in fact very rare books of any description. A copy of the celebrated Mazarin Bible was lately bought for him for 500 pounds![42]

Stevens apparently had an agreement with his clients that they were to buy only through him, and he took advantage of his position.

> Mr. Stevens is monopolizing all the old books relating to America. I cannot conceive why people send to him to purchase *my* books when surely they could get them on better terms, if they applied direct to me.[43]

Nevertheless, Rich took charge of Stevens' business while the latter returned to the United States in 1847 to interest more customers. Before leaving, Stevens bought a large number of books on credit without notifying Rich or making arrangements for payment; his creditors applied to Rich and caused him much trouble.

[40a] See Wyman W. Parker, "Henry Stevens: The Making of a Bookseller" (PAPERS, XLVIII [1954], 149-169).

[41] Rich to Sparks, February 3, 1847, Harvard.

[42] Rich to Sparks, April 3, 1847, Harvard.

[43] Rich to Sparks, January 3, 1846, Harvard.

You must make a great effort to send me money by the first packet, or your credit will be sadly injured. I fear that all I shall be able to do when your drafts become due will be to tell the holders that I expect to receive funds by the last of December. If the funds do not come, the bills may be sent out . . . to look after you, and give you a great deal of trouble and expense. I am willing as I always have been to do anything to serve you, but I must be secured from loss at any rate.[44]

Stevens was supposed to get some business for Rich in return for the latter's services to him, but he did not fulfill the agreement. "I am surprised that you have got no orders for me whatever! Surely you could have got some if you had tried."[45] Nevertheless, Rich never quite lost patience, and they remained friends. Stevens was to receive rather severe criticism from Henry Harrisse some years later for his inflating the prices of rare books. Stevens made a rebuttal,[46] but the evidence is not in his favor.

Stevens certainly did not begin the practice of creating artificial prices for books. It seems to have been the rule in many cases rather than the exception. Rich wrote from Paris:

I know it to be a fact that Mr. Bossange, to whom I believe all the American booksellers apply when they come here, sends a clerk with them to the other booksellers and tells them privately they must add 10 per cent to their prices for his commission.[47]

There seems to be no reason to suspect Rich of having participated in such practices. At any rate he gave his countrymen the benefit of his generosity.

He (Lenox) bought all my MSS, except a duplicate of the works of Las Casas, 10 vols. and the Diego Duran Historia Antigua de Nueva España, 3 vols. large folio of about 1000 pages each, splendidly bound in Morocco. Duran with numerous colored drawings of Mexican hiero-

[44] Rich to Stevens, October 23, 1847, The William L. Clements Library.

[45] Rich to Stevens, October 19, 1848, *ibid.*

[46] Henry Stevens, "American Bibliography," *London Athenaeum*, No. 2032, October 6, 1866.

[47] Rich to Sparks, June 6, 1845, Harvard.

glyphics. These I should be glad to sell to the College [Harvard] for 100 pounds which is less than what they cost me.[48]

Of the pioneers in the bibliography of Americana, Obadiah Rich, Henri Ternaux-Compans, and David B. Warden, Rich was last to leave the scene. Ternaux changed careers in 1845, becoming a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and Warden died the same year. On good terms with his rivals, Rich bought most of Ternaux's collection and a small portion of Warden's. The bulk of the latter's collection was bought by the New York State Legislature.

The Ternaux collection of Americana was probably the most complete in works printed before 1700. Among them were thirty or forty Indian grammars and vocabularies which Rich finally sold to the agent of the King of Prussia, who was trying to complete the William Humboldt collection.[49] Rich was also enabled to replenish his stock, which had been greatly depleted by his sales to Harvard the year before. Many of the works were bought by Stevens and Lenox, but not before Rich made one last effort to carry out his plan of making some institution in the United States the repository of the most complete collection of Americana. The object of his plan had become the newly proposed Smithsonian Library. Rich hoped to become the agent for that institution through the good offices of Sparks, Prescott, Ticknor, and Rufus Choate, the instigator of the Library. He was doomed to disappointment, however, for he was never able to interest the government.

I fear that I shall not have much to do with the Smithsonian Institution. There are too many persons after the agency who care little about the terms provided they can once obtain it: and I would not undertake it without a fair compensation that would enable me to act honestly and do justice to the Institution as well as to myself. Above all things I should

[48] Rich to Sparks, April 3, 1847, Harvard.

[49] Rich to Sparks, September 18, 1846, Harvard.

like a discretionary order to supply *all* the books of some particular class, such as Natural History or Botany or Voyages and Travels, etc. and be allowed time enough to select and purchase them as opportunities offered. I propose to do something of the kind on my own account: as I have very little else to do, having through Wiley and Putnam and Mr. Stevens lost nearly all my old customers.[50]

After purchasing the Ternaux collection, Rich went to Paris and established a house there. He had his sons enrolled in the trade, and did much to promote his business. Nevertheless, his sales went down, and, with the exception of sales from the Ternaux collection to Lenox, he did little more than supply his old scholar-clients with current publications and works of particular interest to them. He died on January 20, 1850, in London.

Few biographers of Irving fail to mention in passing the services rendered to him by Rich, but they usually conclude with regret that little can be learned about his career. There is, however, a great deal of material concerning him in various libraries throughout the United States which reveals the extent of his services to American scholarship. Much work is still needed to collate these services with the actual historiography of his clients. Historians depended largely upon his services to themselves and institutions in the United States, however, and much of their success was due to his discovery of Americana, a new field of scholarship.

Many bibliopoles tried to follow in the footsteps of Rich, but, as Prescott wrote to James Rich, "... we must feel that it will be very long before we shall see his like again."[51]

[50] Rich to Sparks, February 3, 1847, Harvard.

[51] Prescott to James M. Rich, August 28, 1857. S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (Philadelphia, 1881), II, 1788.

Robert Stephens, Messenger of the Press: An Episode in 17th-Century Censorship*

By Leona Rostenberg

ALTHOUGH fireworks blazed a sparkling welcome to the exiled Charles Stuart upon his return to London in May 1660, firebrands of a less brilliant effulgence popped from the presses of the opposition. Sympathetic to republican sentiment, many London stationers lent their support and published innumerable tracts of a seditious and libelous character. The Stuart government, sensitive to its past and hopeful for its future, instituted a policy of rigid censorship. Prior to the Restoration, the Long Parliament of 1642 had empowered the Committee of Examiners to expose scandalous publications and the Parliament of 1649 had renewed this legislation, including even more drastic provisions. It was not until 1663, however, that a Surveyor of the Press was officially appointed. To support him in the control of anti-royalist expression, he was aided by a hierarchy of assistants among whom the Messenger of the Press was to play an active part. Although this office of "informer" was not new, its duties were now to be executed with an unprecedented dispatch and alacrity. In the discharge of these responsibilities the Crown had found a most willing servant in a member of the Stationers Company, Robert Stephens, known odiously to his fellow guildsmen as "Robin Hog."

In 1661 Roger L'Estrange, a vociferous and professed royalist, had in his brochure, *A Modest Plea both for the Caveat and the*

* Appreciation is expressed to Mr. R. T. Rivington, Clerk of the Stationers Company, London, for his permission to examine the manuscripts at Stationers' Hall.

Author of It, ascribed the prevalence of dangerous opinions to the license of the press. His sentiments were favorably received. On February 24, 1662, he obtained a warrant authorizing him to seize all seditious books and libels, to apprehend the authors and to bring them before the Council. With enthusiasm, L'Estrange persevered in his office and with renewed inspiration mused upon the excesses of the press. To the London reader he offered on June 2, 1663, a slim volume entitled *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press*. "I think no man denyes [*sic*] the necessity of suppressing licentious and unlawful pamphlets and of regulating the press." L'Estrange not only proposed the office of state licenser, but added: "Let there be one surveigher of the press. There must be a constant attendance and dayly labour in hunting out, and over-looking books and presses and secondly a continual expense in the enterteynment of instruments for discovery and intelligence."[1]

Master L'Estrange was well rewarded for his reflections and patriotism. On August 15, 1663, he was appointed "Surveyor of the Imprimery." All printing offices in England and all vendors of books and papers were under his control. He was authorized to search for and to seize all treasonable and seditious books and papers. As chief of staff, L'Estrange was assisted by the Messengers of the Press, the "instruments for discovery and intelligence," among whom the most active, the most notorious and the most controversial was the printer, Robert Stephens, trained in the ranks of the Stationers Company and a member of its honored guild.[2]

[1] For L'Estrange, see George Kitchin, *Sir Roger L'Estrange* (London, 1913), *passim*; Roger L'Estrange, *A Modest Plea for the Caveat and Author of It* (London, 1661), 2 editions (London, 1662); *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press* (London, 1663) in Donald G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland ... 1641-1700* (New York, 1945-1951), L1272, L1273, L1274, L1229; see also J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism* (London, 1908), 187.

[2] Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. 1663-1664*, ed. Mary Anne E. Green (London, 1862), III, 240.

Robert Stephens, Messenger of the Press, is not to be confused with Robert Stephens, son of Philemon and likewise a printer for the Whig stationer, Langley Curtis, and the journalist, Henry Care. The future "instrument" of L'Estrange was the son of William Stephens, a husbandman of Kingston in the County of Oxford. Stephens was born *ca.* 1643 and was apprenticed on April 5, 1658, to the London printer, Thomas Ratcliffe. His master had a fairly extensive business at St. Bennet Paul's Wharf near Doctors' Common, where he had entered partnership with Edward Mottershead. In July of 1668 Ratcliffe was reported in a survey of London printers as having two presses, two apprentices and seven workmen. When Stephens completed his service in 1666, he did not sever his connection with his former master, but worked for him and his new partner, Nathaniel Thompson, the Papist sympathizer.[3]

Stephens had left Ratcliffe and Thompson by 1672, having apparently set up in trade for himself, since in November of that year he engaged as an apprentice Edward Masters of Prosson in the County of Gloucester and three years later Charles Barker of the Parish of St. Clement Dane. By 1683 Stephens had been admitted to the livery of the Company.[4]

Stephens declared that he had terminated his association with Ratcliffe and Thompson because they had printed unlicensed books. There is no indication of the location of Stephens' press.

[3] *Apprentices Register Book, 1605-1666* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); *Apprentices Freed and Cloathed* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (London, 1922), 281, states: "Stephens does not appear to have exercised his trade." For Ratcliffe, see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), 156; Henry R. Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing* (London, 1916), 185, Appendix II; for Robert Stephens, son of Philemon, see *Apprentices Register Book 1605-1666*, entry: 1 Dec. 1656; also "The Trial of Henry Carr, or Care at the Guildhall, London for a Libel. 1680" in T. B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (London, 1816), VII, 1111.

[4] *Apprentices Register Book, 1666-1727* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); for Stephens' admission to the livery of the Company, see *The Observator In Dialogue* (London, April 23, 1683), no. 325.

He appears to have worked intermittently for several London master-printers. According to a vituperative and highly prejudiced report, he was well known to the trade and its associates who were "so sick of him that he was the very Vomit of one House unto another." The *Term Catalogues* and the *Registers* of the Stationers Company fail to report a single Stephens imprint. He appears to have published an occasional broadside, one of which, issued in 1683, proclaimed his loyalty to Charles II, whom he regarded as the trustee of the people. Although Stephens' imprints remain practically unknown, his identity as "Robin Hog," Messenger of the Press, emerges from the midnight raids upon the premises of his colleagues, from the musty, smoke-filled rooms of the Rainbow Tavern and the Buffle-Head, and from the crowded chambers of His Majesty's courts, where his evidence and testimony indite his career as a servant of the Crown.[5]

Before Stephens had metamorphosed into a L'Estrange "instrument for discovery" the government had attempted to tighten its control over unlicensed books. In 1668 Andrew Crooke, past master of the Stationers Company, had been authorized by the Crown to "search any house, shop or printing room, supposed to contain scandalous or unlicensed books, or books imported contrary to law, to seize them, make the presses unserviceable and bring the offenders before the Secretary of State." This enactment was renewed the following year, but despite this attempted limitation of the liberty of the press, unlicensed imprints circulated freely. The Company was reprimanded by the Crown and admonished "to take due cognizance of his [L'Es-

[5] A rift between L'Estrange and Stephens began about 1682 which terminated in Stephens' dismissal from office in December, 1684. The men had become bitter enemies, and their mutual antagonism is reflected in L'Estrange's news-sheet, *The Observator In Dialogue*, and in Stephens' comments. The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. *Ninth Report*, Part II, Appendix & Index (London, 1884), 77; *The Observator In Dialogue* (January 1, 1682), no. 266; in the issue of April 20, 1683, no. 323, L'Estrange states: "He [Stephens] said in his sheet of Printing that he publish'd t'other day with his own hand that the Kings of England are the Trustees of the People."

trange's] commission, to employ your utmost power and credit with your members, no further to obstruct him, but to assist him in all searches and discoveries when needful."[6]

L'Estrange attributed the prevalent disrespect of the press to the withdrawal of Lord Arlington's patronage. In self-justification he wrote to the latter: "You know upon what consideration I undertook the care of the press, the state I found it in and how I acquitted myself in clearing it, which involved great difficulty and expense. Since Your Lordship withdrew your support, which enabled me to do what I did, it has returned to its former liberty and become as foul and licentious as ever and the people concerned have grown more peremptory." The following October he appealed his case to the King: "In August 1663 Your Majesty made me Surveyor of the Press . . . in which office I so acquitted myself that I suppressed above 600 sorts of seditious pamphlets. In September 1670 I on borrowed money discovered a most dangerous private press which has cost me above 50 £ and three years trouble in hunting up. I am ready for the indictments against five persons next sessions, but it cost me 40 £ within six weeks and the charge of prosecution has yet to come. The constant charge for a deputy and coach amounts to 200 £ a year." Although L'Estrange had itemized his expenses and stressed his diligence, it is highly doubtful that his already impecunious monarch indemnified his Surveyor. With the renewed patronage of Lord Arlington, L'Estrange's horizon proved brighter and he was further empowered "to enter and search for and seize any seditious, scandalous or unlicensed portraitures or books, pamphlets or papers imprinted or imported contrary to law and to arrest all persons suspected of being the authors, printers, dispensers or publishers of the same."[7]

In the suppression of "above 600 sorts of seditious pam-

[6] Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Nov. 1667 to Sept. 1668*, ed. Mary Anne E. Green (London, 1898), VIII, 266, 446.

[7] *Ibid., 1670* (London, 1895), X, 227, 502; *ibid., Jan. to Nov. 1671*, ed. F. H. Blackburne Daniell (London, 1895), XI, 99.

phlets" L'Estrange had been assisted by various Messengers of the Press. The appointment of this officer was made by the Crown with the endorsement of the Stationers Company, whose beadle and constable usually assisted him in stalking his quarry. The Messenger of the Press who "order[ed] those irregular things" was authorized to "search all houses and shops where he shall know or suspect any books or papers to be printed, bound or stitched, especially printing houses, booksellers' shops and warehouses and bookbinders' houses and shops, to examine whether what is printing, binding or stitching there be licensed and to demand at sight license and to seize upon any unlicensed books with the offenders and bring them before the Secretary or a justice to be proceeded against according to law and in case he find any unlicensed books which he shall suspect to contain matters contrary to the doctrines or discipline of the Church of England or against the state or government to seize such books and bring them before the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London or one of them or before a Secretary of State."[8]

Prior to the appointment of Stephens, L'Estrange had been aided by other Messengers of the Press. Their names emerge from the testimony of the period, but of the eleven mentioned, only three appear to have been prominent, and none is recorded as a member of the Stationers Company. Among the most active were John Wickham (1663-1676), John Sumner (1666-1668), and Thomas Atterbury (1680-1684), who apparently worked with Stephens.[9]

Since these Messengers were not affiliated with the Stationers

[8] *Ibid., Jan. 1, 1679 to Aug. 31, 1680* (London, 1915), XXI, 472.

[9] John Wickham, John Bradly, Lewis Dormay, John Sumner, Ralph Rutter, John Wilson and Edmund Goldegoy are mentioned as Messengers of the Press from 1663 to 1669; Gammon and Blundell were active from 1676 to 1677, while Thomas Atterbury prosecuted cases during 1681 to 1684. See *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. 1665-1666* (London, 1864), V, 340, 386, 569; *1663 to 1664* (London, 1862), III, 434; *1666 to 1667* (London, 1864), VI, 198; *1667* (London, 1866), VII, 178, 357; *Nov. 1667 to Sept. 1668* (London, 1898), VIII, 178, 353; *Oct. 1668 to Dec. 1669* (London, 1894), IX, 30; The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *op. cit.*, 77.

Company, they were not sufficiently familiar with the political leanings of its more subversive members. In the hope that he might successfully trap this obstreperous group, L'Estrange selected a participant of the Company whose knowledge of his fellow guildsmen's partisanship and designs would lead to their ultimate detection and betrayal. It is extremely difficult to evaluate Stephens' character. Since the majority of evidence concerning him originates from the opposition, it is naturally prejudiced and venomous. The republican wing of the Stationers Company despised him as its betrayer and a king's man. The invectives of L'Estrange, who was to become his most violent opponent, describe him as "a rogue, a flying fool, the very scandall of the printing trade . . . a coxcomb making a splutter with his loyalty, his Newgates and his halters, his Four or Five and Forty Years of Service to the Crown." He accused this "lying black-mouthed knave" of the most heinous crimes, perjury and bribery. On the other hand, the observant Mr. Dunton, who realized that Stephens had "many enemies that grunt at him (and perhaps they have reason for it)" regarded him as "one true to a friend as any man in the world which is a rare quality in a man that lives by informing. And as Robin knows how to be Just and Kind to those that deserve it from him, so were I put to my oath, I could not swear but Robert Stephens . . . is both very Honest [and] Quiet." Politically Stephens appears to have been quite confused. During the fairly liberal London mayoralty of Sir Hugh Davies, he pounced upon the leftist element of the Stationers Company with undue ferocity, and with the election of the royalist mayor, Sir John Moore, he championed the republican wing. In the development of Stephens' career there is evidence of both bigotry and tolerance; from the confused and twisted testimony of the period he presents a character difficult to assay correctly or fairly.[10]

[10] *The Observator In Dialogue* (Jan. 1, 1682), no. 266, (April 20, 1683), no. 323, (April 23, 1683), no. 325; John Dunton, *The Life and Errors* (London, 1818), I, 334.

Stephens was designated Messenger of the Press about 1676 and was active until December 1684, when he was removed from office. He was reappointed in 1689, discharging his duties until 1697, the year of his death or retirement. During the first half of his career, his name is associated with the arrest and trial of twenty-odd London stationers, many of them the most factious and outspoken critics of the government. Doubtless he inquired into the public and private lives of many others, but found too little evidence for their apprehension.

Among Stephens' principal targets were the booksellers, Langley Curtis, Francis Smith and Benjamin Harris. Curtis, publisher of Henry Care's leftist paper, *A Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, and innumerable anti-Stuart tracts, spent a goodly portion of his career standing in the pillory in Bloomsbury Market, while his wife Jane suffered several personal visits from Master "Robin Hog" during her husband's absence in Newgate Jail. Smith, known as "Elephant Smith" from his premises at the Elephant and Castle near the Royal Exchange, was notorious for his strong political and religious convictions. He was persecuted by the government without mercy but, notwithstanding, he yielded neither to threat nor imprisonment. He resisted Stephens and demanded, as a true-born Englishman, his rights based upon Magna Carta. Benjamin Harris, the publisher of *The Domestick Intelligence*, a strongly anti-Stuart news-sheet, likewise knew the visits of Stephens escorted by the Company's beadle and tipstaff. His shop, the Bible over against the Blue Anchor, became so uncomfortable for its proprietor, that he embarked for the New World to acquaint Boston with his blend of democratic ideology.[11]

Stephens' descent upon these and other gentlemen of the press was seldom announced. He arrived with an ordinary or particular warrant for search and arrest. The Messenger's visitation occurred occasionally at night, or during the early hours of the

[11] For Curtis, Smith and Harris, see Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, 96, 273, 144.

morning. It was frequently met with resistance and imprecation. Stephens had been advised of the underground activity of his former employer, Thomas Ratcliffe. On the night of February 22, 1676, he set up a watch with the warden and beadle of the Company in a house adjoining Ratcliffe's shop at St. Bennet Paul's Wharf. Here they observed that at 1 A.M. Ratcliffe put two presses into operation. Assured of evidence, Stephens and his associates broke into the establishment at 6 A.M., "but not without difficulty," and found there three quires of Denzil Holles' *Some Considerations upon the Question whether the Parliament is dissolved by its Prerogative for Fifteen Months* and another seditious book by the same author, *The Long Parliament Dissolved*.[12] Stephens' midnight raids occasionally boomeranged. In February 1681, Harris, Samuel Lee and "Elephant Smith," warned of the Messenger's pending visit, engaged a constable and invaded the privacy of "Robin Hog." Standing upon constitutional grounds and the authority of Magna Carta, they denounced him thoroughly, declaring: "We have good sheriffs and good juries," to which Stephens curtly rejoined: "Damn your authority."[13]

In his apprehension of William Anderton, the London printer, Stephens encountered not only the suspect's wrath and intimidation but also the threats and violence of his mother. Unfamiliar with the locality of Anderton's press, he followed two journeymen printers whom he had missed from public printing houses during the past half year. According to Stephens' testimony, he pursued them and "saw them go exactly into the house of one Skudamore . . . where he suspected they worked privately, so having got the beadle and another person or two with him, leaving the others a little way off to avoid suspicion . . . coming to Skudamore's house, where the prisoner lodged . . . he saw his mother in the yard, who cried out, 'Thieves' . . . fell upon him

[12] The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *op. cit.*, 73; Wing, *op. cit.*, H2467; H2463.

[13] Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, 281.

and tore his hair off his head crying out 'Murder;' at which time the prisoner came out of the house and fell upon him . . . telling him he scorned to be a subject to Hook-Nose [William III]."[14]

Resistance to Stephens' arrest might have been in the form of personal force or on constitutional grounds. At one of his many trials Francis Smith declared: "Mr. Stevens [*sic*] and a constable came to my shop with a warrant to search for unlicensed books; I desired to hear it read and found it was a general warrant . . . upon which I replied I should not obey it; for it was against Magna Carta and therefore advised the Messenger at his peril neither to seize me nor my books. The Messenger was in a great heat, both threatening me and persuading me much to obey his general warrant. Upon this the Messenger and constable departed . . . came again with a particular warrant and brought me before His Majesty in Council and after he had made oath, gave evidence and charged me with refusing to obey his general warrant, declaring that I had threatened him with a Parliament and Magna Carta on purpose to discourage him from doing his duty and that he had more trouble with me than all the booksellers and printers in town besides: and it was in vain for him to execute his office unless some course was taken with me."[15] Clearly Stephens was not a welcome visitor! He declared that twice he had been "refused entrance to the printing house of Thomas Bradyll and reflected on and abused." The Messenger's visits were not confined to the premises of his colleagues, but extended even to the Crown's domain. He was summoned to the Custom House to supervise the "opening of three boxes of Popish books,

[14] Although Stephens arrested and prosecuted Anderton in 1693, his case reflects the Messenger's methods of detection and apprehension. For Anderton, see Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, 6; C. H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, 1839), 576; "Trial of William Anderton Printer Before The Lord Chief Justice Treby, Baron Powell . . . at the Old-Bailey for High Treason" in Howell, *op. cit.*, XII, 1246 ff.

[15] "Trial of Francis Smith, Bookseller, at the Guildhall of London, for publishing a Libel" in Howell, *op. cit.*, VII, 931.

wherein were several crucifixes, beads and pictures which were taken out of a vessel from Flanders."[16]

In the informer's hierarchy there are always links which weld and tighten the chain around the suspect. As L'Estrange's tool, Stephens in turn employed his own, an apprentice or a trade employee who, for a few shillings, might betray his master. In 1682, Richard Crowder, a journeyman printer for the publisher Langley Curtis, admitted that he had informed Stephens of the presence of seditious literature in Curtis' shop: Tare's *Poems* and a *Song on the Downfall of the Whigs*, which, he stated, Mrs. Curtis "sang with me by her fireside. Then Mr. Stevens arrested her . . . and about 4 or 5 days after searched her house."[17]

Through information and detection Stephens found the requisite evidence for arrest. In March 1678, he apprehended John Starkey, printer of *The Continuation of an Historical Discourse of the Government of England*, "the contents whereof are of a very seditious nature" and likewise detained Starkey's bookbinder, John Barksdale. With an assistant he found between 400 and 500 copies of this work in the Temple, "where the said Starkey had laid them."[18] Having gained access to the rooms of Anderton, who posed as Williams, a lapidary, he declared that he saw the prisoner "shove up a bed . . . run upon wheels, behind which was a door, which he opened and there found a printing press, letters and other materials proper for the trade." In the prisoner's room he pulled out an "old trunk filled with seditious papers and pamphlets and also a desk and took out of the said desk 40 or 50 copies of [Anderton's tract] *Remarks upon the Present Conspiracy and Late Revolution in England*" and "copies of a *French Conquest neither desirable nor practicable*" by the Quaker lawyer, Charlwood Lawton. The following May he described

[16] Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Sept. 1, 1680 to December 31, 1681* (London, 1921), XXII, 627; *ibid., Jan. 1 to June 30, 1683* (London, 1932), XXIV, 178.

[17] *Ibid.*, 45.

[18] *Ibid., March 1, 1677 to Feb. 28, 1678* (London, 1911), XXIX, 402, 449.

in court his raid upon the premises of the Quaker printer, Andrew Sowle in Shoreditch, where he discovered "a private printing press in two upper rooms in which there was no passage but through a trap door and there found part of several scandalous unlicensed books printing and printed."[19] In 1681 he was assigned to search for Hindmarsh, the bookseller at the Sign of the Black Bull, Cornhill, "who has lately exposed for sale a blasphemous paper entitled *The Presbyterian Paternoster, Creed and Ten Commandments,*" and to take him into custody. The following year he was ordered to seize copies of a work "very false, and dishonorable to the government" as well as injurious to particular persons, the *Del Teatro Britannico* of the Italian, Gregorio Leti. Within a month Stephens and his aides had located copies of the book and secured them fast under lock and key.[20]

Stephens displayed the guilt and the guilty in court where his testimony was given. L'Estrange describes him as a grinning, unctuous fool, "a coxcomb with his brains in his heels," slavering before a royal justice, humming and hawing: "My Lord, have you seen the Book I took? Sir, have you seen the Libell I seized? By God I'll mawl those Rogues before I have done with 'em." As evidence, he produced a copy of Harris' publication of Charles Blount's *An Appeal from the Country to the City, for the Preservation of His Majesty's Person, Property and the Protestant Religion,* declaring that, as a loyal subject, he had not bought a copy, but "I caused a man to buy one for me." Of particular interest is Stephens' participation in the case of Elizabeth Cellier, the midwife associate of the Popish Plot, who, following her original acquittal, had written, in vindication, *Malice Defeat-*

[19] "Trial of William Anderton" in Howell, *op. cit.*, XII, 1246; Wing, *op. cit.*, A3112, L739.

[20] Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Sept. 1, 1680 to Dec. 31, 1681* (London, 1921), XXII, 179; *Presbyterian Pater-Noster For Tom Tell-Troth* (1681) in Wing, *op. cit.*, P3225; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1682* (London, 1932), XXIII, 591; *ibid., Jan. 1 to June 30, 1683* (London, 1932), XXIV, 45; Gregorio Leti, *Del teatro Britannico* (1683) in Wing, *op. cit.*, L1331.

ed: or a brief Relation of the Accusation and Delivrance of Elizabeth Cellier. Stephens asserted in court that he had found sheets of the book at the printer, Downing, and had questioned his association with Mrs. Cellier. "I bid him have a care that he do no more than what he could justify. He desired me that I would not hurt him and I was lothe to do a poor man wrong but I asked him what has become of the sheets. He said he had carried them to Mrs. Cellier who owned it was her book." The former midwife testified that she had not written the book by her own hand, but had merely dictated it to an amanuensis. Stephens endorsed her statement, remarking that he had seen in her house "one Grange and one Sing and I have seen her likewise sell several of them several days. I have seen her deliver them out several times before me myself." Mrs. Cellier was found guilty and was forced to pay a fine of 1,000 pounds and to stand thrice in the pillory, at the Maypole in the Strand, Covent Garden and Charing Cross.[21]

Mrs. Cellier paid her fine and withstood the indignity of the pillory. The printer Anderton suffered a less generous fate. Condemned partly by Stephens' testimony and partly by the discovery of treasonable literature on his premises, he was executed at Tyburn on June 16, 1693. The majority of sentences, however, consisted of fines and imprisonment. At the Guildhall Sessions of April 16, 1683, Stephens presented three cases: John Wickins, bookseller of the Mitre in Fleet Street, was fined forty shillings for printing and publishing Pallavacini's *The Whore's Rhetorick;* Francis Smith, the Younger, paid ten pounds for publishing a libel entitled *Matter of Fact and the Ir-*

[21] *The Observator In Dialogue* (April 23, 1683), no. 325; "Trial of Benjamin Harris, Bookseller at Guildhall, for Causing to be printed and sold, a Libel entitled 'An Appeal from the Country to the City, for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, Liberty, Property and the Protestant Religion' " in Howell, *op. cit.*, VII, 828 ff.; Wing, *op. cit.*, B3300; W. H. Hart, *Index Expurgatorius Anglicanus* (London, 1872), "The Trial of Elizabeth Cellier at the Old Bailey for Writing and Publishing a Libel. Sept. 11th, 13th, 1680" in Howell, *op. cit.*, VII, 1183 ff.; Wing, *op. cit.*, C1661; Hart, *op. cit.*, 252.

regular Account of Swearing the Two Pretended Sheriffs; his sister Eleanor paid the same for having published *The Second Part of the Ignoramus Justice* by Edward Whitaker. Both were compelled to give good behavior and bail. James Astwood of Threadneedle Street was presented for his publication, *The Packet of Advice.* For the publication of Blount's *An Appeal from the Country to the City,* Harris was compelled to pay a fine of five hundred pounds, to stand in the pillory an hour daily, and find sureties for his good behavior for three years. At a Guildhall Session of 1684, Thomas Benskin, the Protestant publisher of Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, was fined forty shillings for printing *The Domestick Intelligence,* and Judith Jones, a hawker serving the Amsterdam Coffee House, paid a penalty of thirteen shillings, four pence for selling young Smith's pamphlet, *Matter of Fact.*[22]

For his services Stephens was paid by the Crown an annual salary of fifty pounds, receiving an occasional gratuity. In 1676, he was awarded twenty pounds "for the discovery of several libels especially what is called Jenks' Speech." The following year he was paid seventy pounds for "discovering a libel and the printer." His discovery in all likelihood was *An Account of the Proceedings at Guildhall relating to the City's petitioning his Majesty for a New Parliament,* which had been printed by John Marlowe of the Vine in Aldersgate Street. Stephens had seized the pamphlet, and Marlowe had been dispatched to Newgate. Shortly thereafter he received an additional gratuity as "the discoverer of the libel, *The Uniformity of Government from the first times to the End of the Reign of Edward III.*" In February 1679/

[22] Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Jan. 1 to June 30, 1683* (London, 1932), XXIV, 178; Ferrante Pallavacini, *The Whore's Rhetorick* (1683) in Wing, *op. cit.,* P213; *Matter of Fact in the Present Election of Sheriffs* (1682) in Wing M1304; Edward Whitaker, *The Second Part of the Ignoramus Justice* (1682) in Wing W1705; Henry Care, *The Weekly Packet of Advice from Rome* in *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature (CBEL)* (Cambridge, 1940), II, 657; Hart, *op. cit.,* 244; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Oct. 1, 1683 to April 30, 1684* (London, 1938), XXVI, 214; *The Domestic Intelligence or News from City and Country impartially related,* No. 1, 13th May, 1681 to No. 155, 16th Nov., 1682. Published by T. Benskin, twice weekly, in *CBEL,* II, 704.

80, Stephens denied the claim of Edward Syng for the apprehension of Harris' publication, *An Appeal from the Country to the City,* "desiring no reward being allowed [but] 50 £ a year from the king in that service." The following year he received an additional twenty-five pounds, and during the same period he was paid an extra five pounds from the Stationers Company "as a gratuity."[23]

In 1683, Stephens reversed his political leanings. Anticipating difficulties with L'Estrange, he displayed an unexpected sympathy with the liberal wing. Among the principal assailants of increasing Stuart autocracy was Thomas Hunt, who had written the *Defence of the Charter and Municipal Rights of the City of London* in criticism of the king's abrogation of the Charter of London. The work was published in January 1683 by the Whig bookseller, Richard Baldwin. It was regarded askance by L'Estrange as a libel "of venomous malice against the King and the Duke," and was thoroughly trounced by him in his tract, *The Lawyer Outlawed.* Instructed to confiscate the entire edition and to arrest the author, Stephens visited Baldwin's shop a few weeks after its publication, and presumably took a few copies with him as evidence. An official report of August 1683 stated that there were still many copies of Hunt's tract in Baldwin's possession, and referred to the lamentable escape of its author "from justice." Stephens had not executed his mission with his customary alacrity. According to L'Estrange, the Messenger had advised Hunt of his pending arrest and allowed him ample time to flee. He declared that Stephens had gone "upon a Sunday morning, without an officer, to Mr. Hunt's house . . . [saying] he had come from Sir Robert Clayton to speak with Mr. Hunt.

[23] For Stephens' salary, consult Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of Treasury Books* (London, 1911), V, Parts I & II, 70, 478; (London, 1913), VI, 434; *An Account of the Proceedings at Guildhall, London, at the tolke-moot* (1676) in Wing, *op. cit.,* A355; see also *Court Book Liber E From 1674,* 106 (MS, Stationers' Hall, London): "3 Jan 1680. This Company doth think fitt and do Order the warden to pay Mr. Robert Stephens 5 lb. which they give him as a Gratuity."

Whereupon his wife came and told him he was not within. Stephens went into the house and after some discourse with Mrs. Hunt went his way again and din'd that day with Mr. Hunt's bookseller [Baldwin]. After dinner they went to the Buffle-Head Tavern and sent for a Constable who happen'd to be a very active Loyall person. Stephens told him his business and the Constable was very earnest to be going about his work but Stephens put it off and off still, for a matter of an hour and a half and then they went to the house; made a search and no Mr. Hunt to be found." L'Estrange added that Stephens had also "advised a Gentleman of quality" at the Rainbow Tavern in Fleet Street of the proposed detention of Hunt, and through collaboration had permitted his escape. While "Postscript Hunt" was well settled at Utrecht, the struggle between L'Estrange and his Messenger continued.[24]

Eager now to curry popular favor, Stephens decided to discredit further the Surveyor of the Press. He planned to present before the Grand Jury L'Estrange's news-sheet, *The Observator In Dialogue*, which was published for him by Joanna Brome of the Gun in Ivy Lane. His designs were not unknown to L'Estrange who, before the indictment, declared that Stephens had urged the Stationers Company to press the charges against him, while the Messenger posed as an innocent tool of their machination. Indignantly L'Estrange protested: "Yet when he was charged publiquely and that it would be prov'd against him, he had nothing to say for himself. He pretended severall orders from My Lord Justice and a Secretary of State for suppressing this Paper." On April 16, 1683, Stephens indicted Mrs. Brome before the Guild Hall Sessions as the publisher of *The Observator In Dialogue*, presenting her as "maliciously printing and pub-

[24] Wing, *op. cit.*, H3750; Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Jan. 1 to June 30, 1683* (London, 1932), XXIV, 17; *ibid., July 1 to Sept. 30, 1683* (London, 1934), XXV, 239; for Baldwin's participation as publisher of *The Defence*, see Leona Rostenberg, "Richard and Anne Baldwin; Whig Patriot Publishers" in PAPERS, XLVII (1953), 8-9; *The Observator In Dialogue* (April 27, 1683), no. 328; (April 30, 1683), no. 330.

lishing scandalous and seditious papers and libels . . . tending to the advancement and introduction of Popery and the suppression and extirpation of the True Protestant Religion within His Majesty's Realm." Stephens asserted that the paper "though it pretends for the Government it is the great publisher of all Fanatick Books, which are hardly known until they are mentioned in the Observator."[25]

The indictment infuriated L'Estrange. He referred to "the besotted and malicious insolence" of his Messenger who "did not know how to distinguish between papers that were written for the Government and those that were written against it." In this protracted tongue-lashing duel Stephens did not remain idle. He addressed L'Estrange as "a black-mouth'd dog whose Devill your Master could not have written more against the Government than such a Rogue as thou art . . . and all under the pretence of loyalty. In good faith if thou shouldst come to be hang'd thy old Pocky Rotten Carcasse would be a disgrace to the Gallows. Tyburn groans for thee."[26]

Although L'Estrange had indulged in a variety of literary rejoinders, he sought more effective measures to silence his Messenger. He determined to debase Stephens' character publicly and to prove that he had indicted *The Observator* for personal reasons. To win his case, he found ready witnesses. James Bodicott, a mealman of the Parish of St. Faith, recalled Stephens' criticism of L'Estrange as "a rascal," the Messenger having declared he "would prove him so if he could have justice done him in any court," although he "could not trust the king's Tory Council." L'Estrange introduced the testimony of Samuel Booth, a coffeeman at whose tavern Stephens had supped. Booth clearly recollected Stephens' remark: "The Observator should

[25] *The Observator In Dialogue* (Jan. 1, 1682), no. 266; (April 20, 1683), no. 323; Kitchin, *op. cit.*, 283; Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Jan. 1 to June 30, 1683* (London, 1932), XXIV, 178.

[26] *The Observator In Dialogue* (April 20, 1683), no. 323; *ibid.* (April 27, 1683), no. 328.

be put down [as it] does more mischief than all papers besides." L'Estrange produced the lamentable protestation of the printer James Bradyll, who deplored his wife's printing of Andrew Marvell's *Growth of Popery* during his absence, adding that Stephens vended copies of this unlicensed tract. L'Estrange affirmed further that Stephens had worked closely with the anti-royalist journalist Henry Care, stating: "Care and Stephens joyn like Beaumont and Fletcher, the one plots and 'tother finds Language."[27]

The Surveyor's trump card against his Messenger was his assertion that Stephens had accepted bribes. In *The Observator* he had printed the testimony of an "unnamed printer of this city who declared that part of a libellous printed book being brought into his house to print . . . was found there by Robert Stephens who threatn'd him for it, but upon giving him some money, the matter was compounded."[28] At the beginning of June 1683, L'Estrange wrote to Secretary Jenkins that Stephens had complained he "was weary of his place and that the King owed him 200 pounds." He added that the Messenger had juggled impeachments and had failed to prosecute. "I need not tell you how I am the subject of every venomous libel for doing my duty, but you are not yet informed perhaps that the most scandalous yet published against me are of Stephens' procurement. I can hardly think of that villain and keep within the compass of good manners." A few weeks later L'Estrange forwarded to Jenkins evidence that Stephens had accepted bribes of "40 shillings from one man and 20 shillings from another not to prosecute them, besides that this knave has given express directions for printing libels against me." The Surveyor concluded his case against Stephens in October by producing the statement of the book-

[27] Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Jan. 1 to June 30, 1683* (London, 1932), XXIV, 106, 108, 272; *The Observator In Dialogue* (April 27, 1683), no. 328.

[28] *Ibid.* (April 25, 1683), no. 326.

seller John How that Stephens had agreed for twenty shillings to drop prosecution against him for his publication of *The Satyr*.[29]

The publication of *The Observator In Dialogue* continued. The services of Robert Stephens ceased. A laconic entry for December 19, 1684, in the diary of Narcissus Luttrell reads: "Robert Stephens, Messenger to the Presse, is lately turn'd out."[30] He was succeeded by Thomas Saywell, who does not appear to have been a member of the Stationers Company. L'Estrange had won his case against his Messenger. It is quite likely that he had convinced the Tory government of Stephens' acceptance of bribes, negligence in the prosecution of subversive stationers and general ineptitude. As a gentleman forced "to keep within the compass of good manners," he had not been able properly to denounce his Messenger. He had placed at the authorities' disposal witnesses and evidence of Stephens' guilt. He had also offered for their consideration and judgment issues of his news-sheet which reflected the language and opinions of Sir Roger L'Estrange. The Stuart government concurred with the sentiments of its Surveyor of the Press.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 introduced many changes. It frowned upon Sir Roger L'Estrange, who was deprived of his appointments and clapped into jail in December of 1688. It favored Robert Stephens, who was recalled from ignominy and restored to office in February 1689. His position carried with it a statelier title, since he was no longer ordinary Messenger of the Press, but "Inspector of Printing Presses," empowered "to apprehend the authors of divers false, scandalous and seditious books, papers, news, pamphlets and intelligences, daily printed and dispersed, containing idle and mistaken relations of what

[29] Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. Jan. 1 to June 30, 1683* (London, 1932), XXIV, 299, 346; *ibid., Oct. 1, 1683 to April 30, 1684* (London, 1938), XXVI, 43; *A Satyr by way of Dialogue between Lucifer* (1683) in Wing, *op. cit.*, S717.

[30] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (Oxford, 1857), I, 323.

passes, with malicious reflections upon persons, to the disturbance of the public peace, which are published without any authority contrary to the law." In its recall of Stephens to office, the Whig government may have been influenced by his participation in the Hunt case and his keen opposition to L'Estrange, a bitter adversary of the new régime. Not unlike its predecessor, the House of Orange was alert to the criticism of the press. To safeguard its policies and to insure its future, the Crown in 1690, 1693 and 1695 issued warrants to Stephens permitting him "to search in all printing houses and elsewhere and to apprehend such authors, printers, bookbinders, hawkers, news-writers and others as shall be found to distribute unlicensed seditious false and scandalous books, prints, manuscripts, papers, etc."[31] Stephens was to protect Their Majesties Government from the circulation of "false and scandalous books" from 1689 to 1697. Although he was active as "Inspector of Printing Presses" during this period, he still seems to have engaged in printing. In 1690 he accepted as apprentice Samuel Framewell, son of William, a blacksmith of Layton.[32]

The arrest of the aforementioned William Anderton was the most notorious case with which Stephens was associated during his latter-day activity. Anderton was found guilty of treason and executed at Tyburn in 1693. The year previous Stephens had discovered a private press at the house of Thomas Topham in Shoreditch. He had been allowed four pounds for his expense and service "with the liberty to prosecute the landlord of the house for five pounds." Two years later he apprehended the printer, David Edwards of Nevill's Alley in Fetter Lane, for "treasonable practises." Stephens was particularly active in 1695. In July he was instructed to arrest John Dyer, a stationer at the

[31] Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of William and Mary* (London, 1895), I, 3; II, 32; IV, 319; V, 498.

[32] *Apprentices Register Book, 1666-1727:* 7 April 1690 (MS, Stationers' Hall, London).

Rose in Bread Street, for "writing, publishing and dispersing false and seditious news." According to instructions received in December, he was, in the company of a king's messenger, Charles Maris, "to search and seize a book lately printed and dispersed entitled *A Manual of Prayer and Other Christian Devotions* containing several seditious matters, together with the persons in whose custody it shall be found." Three weeks later Stephens arrested James Dover, in all likelihood the son of Simon, who had been tried at the Old Bailey during the ascendancy of L'Estrange. Dover had lived underground for three years, when he was suddenly arrested by the "Inspector of Printing Presses" in Petticoat Lane, Spitalfields. His press was located in a "cellar, where was found six pairs of letter cases and eight libels, one being a ballad on the tune of Chevy Chase." He was sent to Newgate, "where he is like to pass his time but ill." Stephens' services for 1695 received a special citation and gratuity. He was awarded eighty pounds "in satisfaction of his charge and expense in detecting and seizing a very great number of treasonable, scandalous and seditious libels and in taking and apprehending many persons concerned therein who have thereupon been prosecuted and convicted." In June 1697, Stephens was ordered to search Beddington House for "a private printing press where treasonable books are likely to be printed." Two months later he confiscated a Popish tract, *The Constitutions of Innocent XI*, "designed for the use of the English clergy." The work had been printed by Thomas Metcalfe of Red Lion Court, Drury Lane, whom Stephens was authorized to apprehend and bring before the Duke of Shrewsbury for examination.[33]

Stephens does not appear to have served the Crown after Au-

[33] Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668 to 1725*, 204; Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of William and Mary* (London, 1895), V, 327; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the Reign of William III* (London, 1908), I, 305, 743; Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of Treasury Books* (London, 1827), IX, Part IV, 1087; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of Reign of William III* (London, 1927), III, 222, 300.

gust 1697. For his efforts the House of Orange paid him the same salary as its predecessor, fifty pounds annually, with an additional ten for incidental expenses. He received this amount regularly until the last payment of July 16, 1697. Shortly thereafter the "Inspector of Printing Presses" died or retired from office.

Stephens had devoted to the Crown an approximate sixteen years of service which are marked by his own political confusion and opportunism. The rôle he chose to fulfill can invite little sympathy. As an informer alerted to betray his fellow stationers, he deservedly earned the contempt and derision of his contemporaries. As a sympathetic Stuart, sensitive to the faltering position of the Crown, his conduct might possibly be condoned. His sudden conversion to liberal ideology was not motivated by altruism. Stephens doubtless hoped to gain favor with the increasing anti-Stuart group and to outwit the aristocrat, L'Estrange. As an agent of repressive government, prepared to destroy the freedom of the press, Stephens emerges with his warrants for arrest, "his Newgates and his halters." His rôle as an informer testified to the intolerance and bigotry of censorship. His career as a servant of the Crown reanimates the spirit of the courageous and enlightened who, with fortitude, challenged and defied the authority of "Robin Hog," Messenger of the Press.

Bibliographical Notes

A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse Printed Through 1500

A Supplement to Brown and Robbins' "Index of Middle English Verse"

The following index* attempts to list all items of English verse that appeared in print through the year 1500. It provides, in the first place, a supplement to Carleton F. Brown and Rossell H. Robbins' *Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, Printed for the Index Society, Columbia University Press, 1943), whose terminal date is also 1500. Of the 101 items here indexed, Brown and Robbins record only 29 completely. They omit 24 entirely, list incomplete versions of two more, and fail to mention one or more printed texts of 46 others.

The *Index of Middle English Verse* was planned primarily as a manuscript index. The present supplement, however, indicates that the early prints are also important. For the 101 items here indexed, the earliest prints in every case provide substantive texts, and for 29 items the only texts. I know from preliminary explorations that, when this index of printed verse is extended through the first half of the sixteenth century, it will bring to light an even greater number of unrecorded Middle-English poems and texts. Later books also contain additional items—for example, John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, printed in 1631, preserves about thirty otherwise unrecorded Middle-English verse epitaphs, some over a hundred lines in length.

* I wish to thank Dr. Curt F. Bühler, Miss Mary Isabel Fry, Miss Eleanor Pitcher, and Professor Franklin B. Williams, Jr., for information and assistance. I began this index when Princeton University provided me with a part-time undergraduate research assistant, Mr. James Seward; I completed it during a term's leave of absence from Washington University made possible by a fellowship from the Folger Shakespeare Library and a grant from the American Philosophical Association. Most of the material was examined at the Folger, Huntington, Morgan, and Princeton University Libraries, and the microfilm room of the Library of Congress, to whose staffs I am indebted for many courtesies.

While the early prints almost always provide substantive texts, a number of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century manuscripts are merely copies of surviving prints and so are of no substantive value. For example, MS Lansd. 762, f.16^{v}—the only manuscript version of Nos. 13, 71 and 88, and one of the two manuscript versions of Nos. 79 and 89—is a copy of a page of the *Book of St. Albans*, sig. f5^{v}; Huntington MS HM 144—the only manuscript version of No. 37 and one of the manuscript versions of No. 10—is copied from Caxton (C. F. Bühler, *MLN*, LV, 563-569); and two items in Chetham MS 6709—No. 55 and part of No. 79—are copied from prints (R. A. Klinefelter, *PBSA*, XLVI, 396-397). Certainly the printing press made a greater contribution to the preservation of earlier English literature than is usually acknowledged.

In the second place, this index provides a reasonably accurate conspectus of the English taste in poetry during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The early printers, whose editions were either underwritten by influential patrons or designed for sale on the open market, were concerned to gauge accurately the literary demands of their contemporaries. Evidently the late Lancastrian and early Tudor reading public was serious and conservative in its tastes; it wanted works providing useful information or serious morality, and preferred the old to the new. Most of the poetry printed was either religious, didactic, or occasional, and the great bulk of it was between 75 and 100 years old. Less than six per cent of the verse that found its way into print was by living writers. The overwhelming favorites were Chaucer and Lydgate, with a preference being shown for the latter. The poetical fare of the average late fifteenth-century reader of English printed books can be viewed in the following table, in which the printed poems (indicated by their index numbers) are listed according to their probable date of composition.

Second Half of the Fifteenth Century

40 items (12,062 lines): Anon. 1, 2, 13, 35, 36, 37, 63, 71, 79, 83, 89, 90, 92, 94, 97; *Assemble of goddes* 85; Dame Julyans Barnes 87; *Booke of curtesye* 43, 44; Caxton 6, 9, 20, 57, 72, 80, 91; *De curia sapiencia* 67; *Remors of conscyence* 59; *Robin Hood* 42; *Salomon and Marcolphus* 5; *St. Margaret* 23; Skelton 32; Smerte 62; *Walsingham* 58; *Wednesday's Fast* 70; William of Touris 74; Anthony Woodville Earl Rivers 66; de Worde 12, 34, 81.

First Half of the Fifteenth Century

31 items (52,227 lines): Anon. 7; Benedict Burgh 17, 84; Greneacres 8;

Lydgate 10, 15, 16, 19, 22, 40, 48, 55, 61, 69, 82; Pecock 95; *Pylgremage of the sowle* (Hoccleve?) 3, 4, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 39, 53, 54, 96; Scogan 51.

Second Half of the Fourteenth Century

22 items (65,174 lines): Anon. 88; Chaucer 14, 18, 21, 50, 65, 68, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 86; *Eglamore* 38; Gower 56; *Speculum Christiani* 33, 46, 49, 60, 93; Trevisa 11, 52.

First Half of the Fourteenth Century

8 items (over 12,018 lines): Anon. 45, 45a, 47, 73a, 80a; *Bevis of Hampton* 41; *Gast of Gy* 98; *Guy of Warwick* 64.

I have divided my index into two parts. The first part is a bibliography of all books printed through 1500 that contain English verse. I list the following information for each item: (1) STC number, (2) author and title as given in the print itself, (3) printer and date of publication, (4) total number and index numbers of poems contained, and (5) location and identifying number of the copy used. Most of the books examined are in the Huntington (HN), Pierpont Morgan (PML) and Folger (FOLG) Libraries; some were viewed on University Microfilms (UM); a few had to be indexed from facsimiles or reprints (in these cases the editor's name is given); and information concerning a few others was taken from Duff's *Fifteenth Century English Books* (indicated by Duff and his item number). In the case of fragments, the complete works have been reconstructed from later editions or manuscript versions, which are listed. At the end I list four titles containing verse which some bibliographers have dated c. 1500, but which there is reason to believe were printed later.

The second part is an alphabetical first-line index of all the items of verse found. I give the following information with each entry: (1) the first line literatim and the index number; (2) the STC number of the work in which the poem appears, followed by the number of the poem in the work (i.e. 3309:10 indicates the tenth poem in the *Boke of huntyng*) and the page reference; (3) the author and title as given in the print, and the date of composition when it can be determined; (4) the number of lines and the verse form (RR indicates rhyme royal and MT Monk's Tale stanzas); (5) the *Index of Middle English Verse* (IMEV) index number, with the number of manuscript versions there recorded; and (6) the most readily available reprints and critical editions. IMEV first

lines whose forms differ from those of the printed versions are listed as cross references.

I have tried to make this index as nearly complete as possible. To this end I first compiled, from the Huntington Library chronological file of the *Short-Title Catalogue,* Bishop's 1950 *Supplement,* and Duff's *Fifteenth Century English Books,* a master list, containing 448 items, of all fifteenth-century books printed in England, and books containing passages in English printed abroad. I then examined, page by page, either the original or an exact reproduction of more than two-thirds of these items. I have consulted descriptions of all the items I have not seen, most of which are Latin works. I believe I have examined at least one edition of all but five titles of works written in or containing English (6442, 17539, 19327, 19478, 20414). It is therefore improbable that any verse of consequence has been missed.

On the other hand, short passages of verse sometimes occur in the most unlikely places—as No. 45, which is buried in a prose chronicle and printed as prose; or No. 43, which occurs in the middle of a French-English phrase book. The only way to be absolutely certain that nothing has been omitted, is to examine page by page a perfect copy of every issue of each work printed for the English market through 1500. At the end of this paper I give my master list of books in the form of a concordance of *Short-Title Catalogue* and Duff numbers, in which I have indicated the items I have examined with asterisks. I should greatly appreciate it if readers who have access to English incunabula would inform me whether any items not marked by an asterisk either do or do not contain English verse. The negative evidence is just as important as the positive evidence. Not until every edition and issue in the master list has been examined can this bibliography and index be considered complete.

I hope that eventually this index may be extended through the year 1603 to provide a basic bibliographic aid for the study of Tudor poetry. Obviously an undertaking of such magnitude, which would involve the page-by-page examination of over 12,000 STC books, is too great for one person. But with coöperation it can be completed. The most time-consuming part of the task is the compilation of the basic bibliography, the determination which books do and which books do not contain English verse. The compilation of the extended index will be greatly facilitated if readers of sixteenth-century books would send me cards containing the STC numbers of the books they have examined, with an indication whether they do or do not contain English verse.

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKS CONTAINING ENGLISH VERSE

(Arranged by *Short-Title Catalogue* numbers)

1536 Bartholomeus [Anglicus], *De proprietatibus rerum,* trans. by [John] Treuisa; de Worde, 1495. Two: 11, 12. (HN 82741)

1987 Anon. [*Syr Beuys of Hampton*]; de Worde, *c.* 1500. Two-leaf frag. One: 41. (UM 1808, Kölbing)

3124 Anon., *Blanchardyn and Eglantine,* trans. by Caxton; Caxton, 1489. One: 91. (Kellner)

3175 Iohn Bochas, *The falle of princis,* trans. by Iohn Ludgate; Pynson, 1494. Two: 8, 22. (HN 34001)

3303 Anon., *The book of curtesye;* Caxton, *c.* 1477-78. One: 44. (Jenkinson)

3304 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1492. Proof of two pages. (UM 2269)

3308 Dame Julyans Barnes, *Boke of huntyng* [and other anonymous treatises]; St. Albans, 1486. Nine: 2, 7, 13, 71, 79, 87, 88, 89, 90. (HN 82735)

3309 —— Anr. ed., with additions; de Worde, 1496. Ten: the nine in 3308 and 1. (HN 82008)

4850 Anon., *Paruus Catho* and *Magnus Catho,* [trans. by Benedict Burgh]; Caxton *c.* 1477. Two: 17, 84. (Jenkinson)

4851 —— Anr. ed.; Caxton, *c.* 1478. (HN 62364)

4852 —— Anr. ed.; Caxton, *c.* 1480. (UM 200)

5057 Alain Charretier, *The Curial,* trans. by Caxton; Caxton, *c.* 1484. One: 72. (PML 20891)

5082 Anon. [Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*]; Caxton, 1478. One: 86. (HN 61667)

5083 —— Anr. ed., revised; Caxton, *c.* 1484. (Filmbook Corp. 1120)

5084 —— Anr. ed.; Pynson, *c.* 1492. (PML 751)

5085 —— Anr. ed., further revised; de Worde, 1498. (PML 737)

5087 Gefferey Chaucer, *The book of Fame;* Caxton, *c.* 1486. Two: 6, 21. (Vienna R.D.27)

5089 Anon. [Chaucer], *The loue and complayntes bytwene Mars and Venus;* Notary, *c.* 1500. Four: 18, 40, 50, 73. (HN 31324)

5090 Anon. [Chaucer], *The compleynt of anelida . . . vpon false arcyte* [and other poems]; Caxton, *c.* 1477. Five: 35, 36, 76, 77, 83. (Jenkinson)

5091 Anon. [Chaucer], *The temple of bras* [and other poems]; Caxton, *c.* 1478. Six: 14, 51, 68, 75, 78, 94. (Jenkinson)

5094 Anon. [Chaucer], *Troylus as touchyng Creseyde;* Caxton, *c.* 1482. One: 65. (Filmbook Corp. 1141)

5643 Anon. [William of Touris], *The Contemplacyon of synners;* de Worde, 1499. One: 74. (UM 662)

6473 Anon., *The pylgremage of the sowle translated oute of Frensshe* [of Deguileville]; Caxton, 1483. Fourteen: 3, 4, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 39, 53, 54, 96. (HN R236266)

6474 —— Anr. issue; Caxton, 1483. (PML 20892)

7273 Cristyne [de Pisan], *The morale prouerbes of Cristyne,* trans. by Antoin Wideuylle therl Ryuers; Caxton, 1478. Two: 57, 66. (HN 59135)

7541 Anon. [*Syr Eglamoure of artayes*]; de Worde, *c.* 1500. One-leaf frag. One: 38. (Duff 135 and Schleich)

9991 Anon., *The cronicles of Englond;* Caxton, 1480. Four: 45, 45a, 73a, 80a. (HN 59601)

9992 —— Anr. ed.; Caxton, 1482. (UM 259)

9993 —— Anr. ed.; de Machlinia, 1486. (UM 260)

9994 —— Anr. ed.; Antwerp, de Leeu, 1493. (UM 261)

9995 Anon. [Schoolmaster of St. Albans], *The Croniclis of englonde with the frute of timis;* St. Albans, *c.* 1485. One: 45 (probably also 45a, 73a, 80a). (HN 59595)

9996 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, 1497. (FOLG)

12138 Anon., *Gouernayle of helthe;* Caxton, 1489. One: 15. (PML 35060)

12142 Iohan Gower, *Confessio amantis;* Caxton, 1493 [i.e. 1483]. One: 56. (HN 61196)

12477 Anon. [*The Gast of Gy*]; Pynson, *c.* 1492. Two-strip frag. One: 98. (UM 1275)

12540 Anon. [*Guy of Warwick*]; Pynson, *c.* 1490-1500. Three-leaf frag. One: 64. (Duff 170 and Schleich)

12541 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1500. One-leaf frag. (Duff 171)

13438 Ranulph [Higden], *Prolicronycon,* trans. by Iohan Treuisa; Caxton, 1482. One: 52. (HN 61511)

13439 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, 1495. Two: 52, 81. (HN 61513)

13440a Anon. [Ranulph Higden], *The discripcion of Britayne,* trans. by Treuisa; Caxton, 1480. One: 52. (HN 59600)

13440b —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, 1498. (FOLG)

13687 Anon. [*A lytell geste of Robyn hode*]; de Worde, *c.* 1500. Two-leaf frag. One: 42. (UM 1330)

13688 —— Anr. ed.; Pynson, *c.* 1500. Two-leaf and one-leaf frag. (FOLG and Duff 362)

14042 Waltere Hylton, *Scala perfeccõnis;* de Worde, 1494. One: 34. (HN 61797)

14477 Smerte, *The Epitaffe of . . . Iasper late duke of Beddeforde;* Pynson, *c.* 1496. One: 62. (Duff 233 and Dyce)

17005 Iohn Lydgat [really anon.], [*The assemble of goddes*]; de Worde, *c.* 1498. One: 85. (PML 737)

17006 Anon., —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, n.d. (Jenkinson)

17007 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1500. (HN 31533)

17008 Anon. [Lydgate], *The chorle and the birde;* Caxton, *c.* 1477. One: 61. (Jenkinson)

17009 —— Anr. ed.; Caxton, before 1492. (Duff 257)

17010 —— Anr. ed.; Pynson, *c.* 1493. (UM 175)

17011 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1500. (UM 177)

17015 Anon., *De curia sapiencie;* Caxton, *c.* 1480. One: 67. (UM 184)

17018 Anon. [Lydgate], *The horse the ghoos & the sheep;* Caxton, *c.* 1477. Two: 10, 37. (UM 205)

17019 —— Anr. ed.; Caxton, *c.* 1477-78. (UM 206)

17020 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1499. (Jenkinson)

17021 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1500. (Duff 264)

17022 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1500. (PML 20039)

17023 Iohn Lydgate, *The lyf of our lady;* Caxton, 1484. Four: 9, 20, 55, 80. (UM 186)

17024 —— Anr. ed.; Caxton, *c.* 1484. Four-leaf frag. (Duff 266a)

17030 Lidgate, *Stans puer ad mensam* [and other poems]; Caxton, before 1491. Five: 7, 48, 63, 92, 95. (HN 62365)

17031 Anon. [Lydgate], *The Storye of Thebes;* de Worde, *c.* 1495. One: 82. (UM 192)

17032 Anon. [Lydgate], *The temple of glas;* Caxton, *c.* 1477-78. One: 16. (Jenkinson)

17032a —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1498. Two: 16, 19. (HN 61339)

17033 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde, *c.* 1500. Two: 16, 19. (Duff 272)

17037 Anon. [Verses on the Seven Virtues], *c.* 1500. One: 97. (UM 193)

17325 Anon., *Of seint margarete The blissid lif;* Pynson, *c.* 1493. One: 23. (UM 2612)

19812 Anon. [? Lydgate], *The parfite lyfe . . . Of . . . Petronylla;* Pynson, *c.* 1495. One: 69. (PML 754)

20882 Anon., *The remors of conscyence;* de Worde, *c.* 1500. One: 59. (UM 675)

22597 Anon. [Skelton], *The bowge of courte;* de Worde, *c.* 1498-1500. One: 32. (Dyce)

[22605: duplicate entry of 14477]

22905 Anon., *The dialogus or comunyng betw*[*i*]*xt Salomon and Marcolphus;* Antwerp, Leeu, c. 1492. One: 5. (Duff)

24224 Anon., *A lytel treatyse . . . how euery man . . . ought to faste . . . on y*[e] *wednesday;* de Worde, *c.* 1500. One: 70. (Huth)

24866 Anon., *A lytell treatyse for to lerne Englysshe and Frensshe;* de Worde, *c.* 1497. One: 43. (UM 462)

24867 —— Anr. ed.; Pynson, *c.* 1500. (UM 463)

25001 Anon. [The Foundation of the Chapel of Walsingham]; Pynson, *c.* 1490-1500. One: 58. (Huth)

26012 Anon., *Speculum Christiani;* de Machlinia, *c.* 1486. Six: 33, 46, 47, 49, 60, 93. (HN 42263)

PROBABLY PRINTED AFTER 1500

10608 Anon., *The example of euyll tongues;* de Worde [*c.* 1525]. One: "With pyte moued to my payne I dyde me dres," A1[v]-4. 161: 23 x 7 RR. Not in IMEV. (UM 672)

13827.1 Anon., *The Proprytees and medycynes for hors;* de Worde [*c.*

1502]. One: *The prologe of the medycynes*, "Here begynneth y^e^ medicyns both gode & tru," A6^v^. 24: couplets. Not in IMEV. (HN 59359, lacking chaps. 54-70)

14128 Anon. [*Ipomydon*]; de Worde [*c.* 1528]. One: ["Mekely Lordyngis gentylle and fre"], ff.? 2346?: couplets. IMEV 2142 (1 MS). (UM 673, three-leaf fragment). MS pr. Kölbing (Breslau, 1889).

5733 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde [*c.* 1530]. (PML 20896)

21070 Anon., *Robert the deuyll;* de Worde [*c.* 1502]. One: Wynkyn de Worde, "Thus endeth the lyfe of Robert the deuyll," E4. 4: abab. Not in IMEV. Repr. London 1827, p. 56.

21071 —— Anr. ed.; de Worde [*c.* 1517]. (UM 681)

A FIRST LINE INDEX OF ENGLISH VERSE PRINTED 1477-1500

A cros was maad al of reede (IMEV 33). *See* 11.

1. **A faythfull frende wolde I fayne fynde.** 3309:10, e5^v^. Anon., untitled. 40: 5x8 ababbcbC. Not in IMEV. Repr. Dibdin's ed. of Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, II (1812), 60; and George Ellis, *Specimens*, I (1805), 363.

2. **A grehounde shulde be heded like a Snake.** 3308:2, F4^v^. Anon., "The propreteis of a goode Grehounde." 20: couplets. Not in IMEV. Facsim. ed. Blades 1881. 3309:2, e2^v^.

All besy swymmyng in the stormy flood. (IMEV 168). *See* 67 (begin. Bk. I).

3. **Al worshyp wysedom welthe and worthynesse.** 6473:6, d8^v^-e1 (Bk. II, chap. xli). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The Angels songe within heuen," 1413. 49: 7x7 RR. IMEV 233 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xxxiv-v. 6474:6, d8^v^-e1.

4. **Almyghty lord our blysful kyng Ihesu.** 6473:5, d7^v^-8 (Bk. II, chap. xl). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The Angels songe," 1413. 35: 5x7 RR. IMEV 263 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xxxiii-iv. 6474:5, d7^v^-8.

〈 〉 am I lent by diuyne prouidence. *See* 97, Acephalous.

5. **An evyll favouryd and a fowle blacke wyf.** 22905:1, a2^v^. Anon., description of Marcolphus' wife Polycana [trans. from Latin *c.* 1492]. 4: couplets. Not in IMEV. Facsim. ed. Duff 1892.

6. **And wyth the noyse of them two.** 5087:2, d5. Conclusion added by "Caxton," 1486, to Chaucer's incomplete *Book of Fame.* 12: couplets. Not in IMEV. Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Parallel-Text . . . Minor Poems,* p. 241.

7. **Arise erly.** | **serue god deuouteli.** 3308:3, f5. Anon., untitled precepts in -ly. 16: monorhyme. IMEV 324 (10 MSS). Facsim. ed. Blades 1881. 3309:3, e3. 17030:2, a3. Version in 11 lines; repr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities,* II (1812), 224.

8. **Blak be thy hondes** [*sic*] **and thy wede also.** 3175:2, H3^{v}. "Greneacres a Lenuoye vpon Iohn Bochos." 28: 4x7 RR. IMEV 524 (1 MS, lines 1-7 only). Anr. MS pr. H. Bergen's ed. Lydgate's *Fall of Princes,* Pt. III (1923), 1023.

9. **Blessid be the swettest name of our lord.** 17023:4, m5. "Balade," trans. from Latin by Caxton, 1484. 7: 1x7 RR. Not in IMEV. Repr. Duff no. 266. 17024:4?, m5?. Four-leaf fragment.

Blisful lord on heigh what schall I do (IMEV 540). *See* 53.

But y the goste of guydo him ⟨ ⟩. *See* 98.

Bydynge al alone with sorowe sore encombred (IMEV 520). *See* 62.

10. **Controversies** | **plees and discordes.** 17018:1, a2-b6^{v}. Anon. [Lydgate, before 1450], *The horse the ghoos & the sheep.* 539: 77x7 RR. IMEV 658 (12 MSS). Crit. ed. MacCracken, EETSos 192.539-566 (adds envoy, lines 540-659). 17019:1, a2-b6^{v}. 17020:1, a2-b5. Lines 1-462 only. Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1906. 17021:1, A2-B5. Lines 1-462 only. 17022:1, aa2-bb5. Lines 1-462 only.

11. **Crosse was made all of red.** 1536:1, A1^{v}. Anon. [John Trevisa], prefatory verses to his trans. of Bartholomaeus Anglicus *De proprietatibus rerum,* 1398. 24: 6x4 abab. IMEV 33 (7 MSS). Repr. Dibdin's ed. of Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities,* II (1812), 311; MS pr. R. H. Robbins, *Secular Lyrics XIV & XV Centuries* (1952), pp. 94-95.

12. **Eternall lawde to god grettest of myght.** 1536:2, 004^{v}-6. [Wynkyn de Worde], "Prohemium Bartholomei de proprietatibus rerum," 1495. 91: 13x7 RR, including "Lenuoy." Not in IMEV. Repr. Dibdin's ed. of Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities,* II (1812), 315-318.

13. **Fer from thy kynnysmen keste the.** 3308:5, f5^{v}. Anon., untitled. 4: monorhyme. IMEV 761 (1 MS, from this print). Facsim. ed. Blades 1881. 3309:5, e3.

14. **Fle fro y^{e} prees & dwelle with sothfastnes.** 5091:5, ff.21^{v}-22. "The good counceyl of chawcer" [before 1400]. 21: 3x7 RR with same rhymes. IMEV 809 (20 MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Sup. Parallel Texts . . . Minor Poems,* p. 155; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), p. 631 (adds envoy, lines 22-28).

15. **For helth of body. couere for colde thy hede.** 12138:1, C1-2^{v}. Anon. [Lydgate?], "medicina stomachi" [? before 1450]. 80: 10x8 MT (MacCracken's lines 25-32, 97-168). IMEV 824 (44 MSS). Repr. Blades 1858; crit. ed. MacCracken, EETSos 192. 703-707.

For Scottes | Telle I for sottes (IMEV 841). *See* 73a.

16. **Forthought constreynt & greuous heuynes.** 17032:1, a2-d10. Anon. [Lydgate], "The temple of glas," 1403: couplets and RR. IMEV 851 (9 MSS). Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1905; crit. ed. Schick, EETSes 60. 17032a:1, a1-d4. 17033:1, a1-d4.

17. **For thy that god is inwardly the wit.** 4850:2, ff.3^{v}-33^{v}. Anon. [trans. by Benedict Burgh, *c.* 1440], "magnus Catho," in four books. 1126: 160 RR and MT. IMEV 854 (31 MSS). Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1906; crit. ed. Förster, *Archiv,* CXV (1905), 304-323, and CXVI (1906), 25-34 (1135 lines). 4851:2, ff.3^{v}-34^{v}. 4852:2, ff.3^{v}-28.

From her childhoode I fynde that she fled. Pr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities,* I (1810), 359-360, as a fragment of an otherwise unknown ballad. Actually a leaf of the *Canterbury Tales:* VII, 2255-2265; IX, 9-20.

18. **Glade ye fowles | of this morowe gray.** 5089:1, A1-B1. Anon. [Chaucer, before 1400], "The loue and complayntes bytwene Mars and Venus." 298: 22x7 RR, 16x9 aabaabbcc. IMEV 913 (7 MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Parallel-Text . . . Minor Poems,* pp. 100-120; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), 623-627.

19. **Goo forth kyng reule the by sapyence.** 17032a:2, d4^{v}. Anon. "Duodecim abutiones" [? Lydgate, before 1450]. 14: 2x7 RR. IMEV 920 (no MS). Repr. Schick, EETSes 60.68. 17033:2, D4.

20. **Goo lityl book and submytte the.** 17023:2, m4^{v}. Anon. [Caxton],

untitled, 1484. 7: 1x7 RR. Not in IMEV. Repr. Duff no. 266; N. S. Aurner, *Caxton* (1926), p. 294. 17024:2?, $m4^{v}$? Four-leaf fragment.

21. **God torne vs euery dreme to good.** 5087:1, a2-d5. "The book of Fame made by Gefferey Chaucer" [*c.* 1374-85]. 2044: couplets. IMEV 991 (3 MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Parallel-Text . . . Minor Poems,* pp. 180-241; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), pp. 332-353 (2158 lines).

22. **He that sumtyme dide his diligence.** 3175:1, a2-H3. "Iohn bochas descriuinge the falle of princis . . . translatid . . . by Iohn ludgate" [*c.* 1430-40]—Prologus, nine books, and The wordes of the Translatoure. 35, 440: RR and MT. IMEV 1168 (31 complete and 24 partial MSS). Crit. ed. H. Bergen, 4 vols. Washington, D. C., 1923-27).

23. **Here begynneth of seint margaret.** 17325:1, ff.2-? Anon. [*The lyfe of saynte Margarete*]. 620?: couplets. Frag. ff.1-4 only. IMEV 1192 (no MS). Extracts of 169 lines from Redman's ed. [*c.* 1530] repr. T. Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica,* VIII (1878), 358-359.

Here begynneth y^e^ medicyns both gode & tru. *See* STC 13827.1 After 1500.

24. **Heryed be thou blysfull heuen quene.** 6473:10, $n3^{v}$ (Bk. V, chap. xi). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French [Song of the Cherubyn on the Purification], 1413. 14: 2x7 RR. IMEV 1243 (6 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xlvii. 6474:10, $n3^{v}$.

25. **Heryed be thou blysfnl** [*sic*] **lord aboue.** 6473:13, $n7^{v}$ (Bk. V). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French [Song of Adam and Eve at the Resurrection], 1413. 28: 4x7 RR. IMEV 1244 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.1. 6474:13, $n7^{v}$.

Honured be this holy feste day (IMEV 1242). *See* 96.

Honured be thu blisful heuene queene (IMEV 1243). *See* 24.

Honured be thou blisful lord aboue (IMEV 1244). *See* 25.

26. **Honoured be thou blysful lord benyngne.** 6473:9, $n1^{v}$-2^{v} (Bk. V, chap. ix). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The songe of the natyuyte of oure lady," 1413. 49: 7x7 RR. IMEV 1245 (6 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xlv-vii. 6474:9, $n1^{v}$-2^{v}.

27. **Honoured be thou blysful lord Ihesu.** 6473:7, $e1^{v}$-2 (Bk. II, chap.

xlii). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The Angels songe," 1413. 35: 5x7 RR. IMEV 1246 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xxxvi-vii. 6474:7, e1^{v}-2.

28. **Honoured be thou blysful lord on hye.** 6473:4, d7^{r-v} (Bk. II, chap. xl). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The Songe of y^{e} Sowles," 1413. 35: 5x7 RR. IMEV 1247 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72. xxxii-iii. 6474:4, d7^{r-v}.

29. **Honoured be thou hooly ghoost on hye.** 6473:14, n8^{v}-o1 (Bk. V). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French [Song at the Ascension], 1413. 21: 3x7 RR. IMEV 1248 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.li. 6474:14, n8^{v}-o1.

30. **Honoured be thou Ihesu saueoure.** 6473:12, n6^{v} (Bk. V, chap. xiv). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The songe of Aungels on Estern day," 1413. 35: 5x7 RR. IMEV 1249 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xlviii-ix. 6474:12, n6^{v}.

How the book taketh in honde (MS). *See* 52.

31. **I grace quene. and heuenly pryncesse.** 6473:2, c2^{v}-5 (Bk. I, chap. xxiii). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The Epystel that grace sendeth to the syke sowle," 1413. 182: 26x7 RR. IMEV 1296 (6 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xxiii-viii. 6474:2, c2^{v}-5.

I pray yowe all my frendes dere (IMEV 1342). *See* 60.

32. **In autumpne, whan the sonne in Virgine.** 22597:1, ff.2-12^{v}. Anon. [Skelton], "The bowge of courte," [*c.* 1498]. 539: 77x7 RR. Not in IMEV. Repr. A. Dyce, *Skelton*, I (1843), 30-50.

33. **In heuen shall dwelle alle cristen men.** 26012:1, a7^{v}-b7 (Secunda Tabula). Anon., The Ten Commandments [14th cent.]. 42: 1x2aa, 10x4 abab (interspersed with prose). IMEV 1491 (23 MSS) and, without introductory couplet, IMEV 3687 (17 MSS). Crit. ed. Holmstedt, EETSos 182.16-37.

34. **Infynite laude wyth thankynges many folde.** 14042:1, s5 (end Bk. II). Wynkyn de Worde, "Lenuoye," 1494. 16: 2x8 MT. Not in IMEV. Repr. H. R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde* (1925), p. 52.

35. **Hit cometh by kynde of gentil blode.** 5090:5, f.10. Anon., untitled. 4: 1x4 abab. IMEV 1618 (no MS). Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1905; repr. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 450.

36. **Hit falleth for euery gentilman.** 5090:4, f.10. Anon., untitled. 4: couplets. IMEV 1619 (no MS). Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1905; repr. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 450.

37. **Hit is ful hard to knowe ony estate.** 17018:2, b7-8. Anon., untitled [stanza 6 is stanza 23 of Lydgate's *Pageant of Knowledge*, stanza 7 is first stanza of Lydgate's *Tyed with a Lyne*]. 49: 7x7 RR. IMEV 1629 (1 MS, from this print). MS, with variants from prints, pr. Bühler, *MLN*, LV (1940), 566. 17019:2, b7-8. 17020:2, b5-6. Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1906. 17021:2, B5-6. 17022:2, bb5-6.

38. **[Iesu Crist Heuyn kyng].** 7541:1, [ff. 2-24?]. Anon. [*Syr Eglamoure of Artayes*, 14th cent.]. ?1225: ?x12 $aa_4b_3cc_4b_3dd_4b_3ee_4b_3$. One-leaf fragment (a4?), "If that he be a crysten man . . .," containing 59 lines, probably 242-300 corresponding to Schleich's 242-294. IMEV 1725 (6 MSS). Copland's ed. repr. Schleich, *Palaestra*, LIII (1335 lines).

39. **Ihesu kyng of hye heuen aboue.** 6473:3, $d3^v$-4^v (Bk. I, chap. xxxv). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The Chartre of mercy," 1413. 98: 14x7 RR. IMEV 1719 (6 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xxviii-xxxi. 6474:3, $d3^v$-4^v.

Iesu lorde oure heuyn kynge (IMEV 1725). *See* 38.

40. **Iuball was fader and fynde[r] fyrst of songe.** 5089:4, B4-8^v. Anon. [Lydgate, before 1450], "The fyrst fynders of the vii. scyences" [and other topics]. 222: 30 RR and MT. See IMEV 3651 (1 MS) and IMEV 3503 (5 MSS, last 17 stanzas only). Corresponds to lines 66-287 of Lydgate's "Thys world ys born vp by astates seuyn," pr. from MS by MacCracken, EETSos 192.727-734.

41. **[Lysten lordinges & holde you styl].** 1987:1, [ff. 1-74?]. Anon. [*Syr Beuys of Hampton*, early 14th cent.]. ? 3995: couplets. Two-leaf fragment (a2, a5), "In all the londes of crystyente . . .," containing lines 33-96 and 225-288 of Pynson's print [*c.* 1503], corresponding to lines 29-98 and 227-292 of Kölbing's ed. IMEV 1993 (1 MS this B text, 5 MSS A text). Crit. ed. Kölbing, EETSes 46, 48, 65.

42. **[Lythe and listin gentilmen | That be of frebore blode].** 13687:1, [?a1-?]. Anon. [*A gest of Robyn Hode*, in eight fyts]. ?1824: ?456x4 $x_4b_3x_4b_3$. Two-leaf fragment (a3-4), "Of hym I haue herde myche good . . .," lines 104-180. IMEV 1915 (no MS). Crit. ed. F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, no.

117. 13688:1, [ff.?]. One-leaf fragment (c2), "And euill thryfte on thy hede saide lytell Iohn . . .," lines 877-938; and two-leaf fragment, "For curtesy can he none . . .," lines 908-921, 1248-1261 and 970-1000, 1307-1337.

Lytle childe sythen youre tendre infancie (IMEV 1919). *See* 44.

43. **Lytell chyldren here maye ye lerne.** 24866:1, B1-4^{v}. Anon., "The booke of curtesye." 103: couplets, with interlinear French trans. IMEV 1920 (6 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSos 32.16-24; repr. Jean Gessler, *Deux Manuels de Conversation imprimés en Angleterre* (Bruxelles, 1941). 24867:1, b2^{v}-c2. (93 lines)

44. **Lytyl Iohn syth your tendre enfancye.** 3303:1, [ff.1-13]. Anon., *The book of curtesye* [after 1450]. 525: 75x7 RR. IMEV 1919 (2 MSS from prints). Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1907; repr. with texts of both MSS by Furnivall, EETSes 3.3-53. 3304:1, ff.? Proof of two pages containing lines 337-357.

45. **Longe berde herteless | Peynted hood witless.** 9991:4, n5 (chap. ccxiii). Verses made by the Scots "in despite of Englisshmen," 1327. 4: monorhyme. IMEV 1934 (1 MS). MS pr. Brie, EETSos 131.249. 9992:4, n5. 9993:4, R4. 9994:4, o2^{v}. 9995: 4, &4. 9996 :4, y6^{v}.

Lordynges lystnith to my tale (IMEV 1993). *See* 41.

45a. **Maydens of englond sare may ye morne.** 9991:3, L4^{v} (chap. clxxxviii). Anon., verses made by Scots at Bannockburn, 1314. 6: 1x6 aabccb. Not in IMEV (but in MSS of the prose Brut). MS pr. Brie, EETSos 131.208. Probably also in 9992-9996.

46. **[M]ary moder wel thou bee.** 26012:6, g1^{v}-2^{v} (Octaua Tabula). Anon., "Oratio deuota ad beatam mariam," [14th cent.]. 56: couplets. IMEV 2119 (49 MSS). Crit. ed. Holmstedt, EETSos 182.160-169. Repr. Dibdin's ed. of Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, II (1812), 13-14.

Mekely Lordyngis gentylle and fre. *See STC* 14128. After 1500.

47. **Might is right | Light is night | Fight is flight.** 26012:4, e7^{v}-f1^{v} (Sexta Tabula). Anon. [Sayings of the Four Philosophers, *c.* 1311]. 11: 3x3 aaa, 1x2 aa; interspersed with prose. IMEV 2167 (41 MSS). Crit. ed. Holmstedt, EETSos 182.124-131 (12 lines).

48. **Mi dere childe first thy self enable.** 17030:1, ff.1-3. Lidgate, *Stans puer ad mensam* [before 1450]. 98: 14x7 RR. IMEV 2233 (22 MSS). Repr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical An-*

tiquities, II (1812), 222-224; crit. ed. MacCracken, EETSos 192.739-744 (99 lines).

49. **[M]y dere frendys I you pray | Four thinges bere in youre herte alwaye.** 26012:3, d5 (Quinta Tabula). Anon. [Introductory couplet, 14th cent.]. 2: couplet. Not in IMEV (45 MSS). Crit. ed. Holmstedt, EETSos 182.75.

50. **My mayster bucketon | whan of cryst our kyng.** 5089:3, B3^{r-v}. "The counceyll of Chaucer touchyng Maryag &c. whiche was sente te Bucketon" [before 1400]. 32: 4x8 MT. IMEV 2262 (1 MS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Parallel-Text . . . Minor Poems*, pp. 424-425; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), p. 635.

51. **My noble sones | and also my lordes deer.** 5091:2, ff.17-21^{v}. Iohn Skogan, "Tretyse . . . Sente vnto the lordes . . . to vse vertues" [early 15th cent.]. 189: 8x8 MT, 3x7 RR, 13x8 MT. IMEV 2264 (3 MSS); Chaucer's *Gentilesse*, "The first stok | fader of gentilnesse," quoted complete in lines 65-85 (IMEV 3348 [9 MSS]). Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VII, 237-244, prints Thynne's 1542 text with variants from this print.

52. **Now this book taketh on honde | Wales after englond.** 13440a:1, ff. 20^{v}-23^{v} (chaps. xvi-xx). Treuisa [trans. of Higden, 1387, modernised by Caxton], "Of the londe of Wales." 470: couplets. Not in IMEV. Lines 83-114, 125-150, 183-188 repr. Dibdin's ed. of Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, I (1810), 146-148; MS pr. C. Babington ed. *Polychronicon*, I (1865), 395-431 (Rolls Series). 13440b:1, C4^{v}-D1^{v}. 13438:1, ff.49-51^{v} (Bk. I, chaps. xxxii-viii). Ranulph [Higden], *Prolicronycon*, trans. Iohan Treuisa [1387], "De Wallia." 13439:2, e6-f1.

53. **O blysful lord on hye | what shal I doo.** 6473:1, a8^{v}-b6 (Bk. I, chap. xv). Anon., trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French "The pyteous compleynt of the sowle," 1413. 364: 52x7 RR. IMEV 540 (5 MSS). Five stanzas pr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, I (1810), 154-155; MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.li-lxii. 6474:1, a8^{v}-b6.

54. **t [i.e. O] Fader god how fyers and how cruell.** 6473:8, i1^{v}-5^{v} (Bk. IV, chap. xx). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "Here compleyneth the grene tree vppon the drye," 1413. 280: 40x7 RR. IMEV 2428 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72. xxxvii-xlv. 6474:8, i1^{v}-5^{v}.

55. **O thoughtfull herte | plonged in distresse.** 17023:1, a1-m4^{v} (82 chaps.). Iohn lydgate, *The lyf of our lady* [*c.* 1412]. 5607:

265x7 RR, 10x8 MT, 536x7 RR. IMEV 2574 (41 MSS). Lines 1856-1935, Magnificat: "With laude and prise | my soule magnefieth . . . ," 10x8 MT. Lines 1-7 and 57-66 pr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities,* I (1810), 339; MS of Magnificat pr. Ritchie, STSns 22.60-63. 17024:1, a1-m4^{v}? Four-leaf fragment.

56. **Of hem that wryten vs to fore.** 12142:1, a2-C4^{v}. Iohan Gower, *Confessio amantis* [1390]; Prologus and eight books. [Composite text from 3 MSS, each of a different recension]. *c.* 34,440: couplets. IMEV 2662 (49 complete and 9 partial MSS). Crit. ed. Macaulay, 2 vols. (Oxford 1901).

57. **Of these sayynges Cristyne was aucteuresse.** 7273:2, f.4^{v}. Caxton, verses on "The morale prouerbes of Cristyne," 1478. 16: 2x7 RR, 2 aa. Not in IMEV. Repr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities,* I (1810), 74-75; N. C. Aurner, *Caxton* (1926), pp. 236-237.

58. **Of this chapell se here the fundacyon.** 25001:1, ff.2-4^{v}. Anon. [The Foundation of the Chapel of Walsingham]. 144: 1x4 aabb, 20x7 RR. Not in IMEV. Repr. H. Huth, *Fugitive Tracts . . . in Verse,* 1st ser. (1875), no. 2.

59. **Our gracyous god moost in magnyfycence.** 20882:1, A2-C3^{v}. Anon., *The remors of conscyence.* 532: 67x8 abababab. Not in IMEV.

Piket hym and diket him (IMEV 2754). *See* 80a.

60. **Praye you all my freendys deere.** 26012:5, f2^{v}-8 (Septima Tabula). Anon. [Verse Sermon and Exemplum, 14th cent.]. 172: couplets (in 15 sections interspersed with prose). IMEV 1342 (35 MSS) and IMEV 750 (4 MSS, lines 121-172). Crit. ed. Holmstedt, EETSos 182.153-159 and (lines 121-172) 340-342.

61. **Problemes of olde liknes and figures.** 17008:1, ff.2-10^{v}. Anon. [trans. from French by Lydgate], *The chorle and the birde* [before 1450]. 372: 52x7 RR, 1x8 MT. IMEV 2784 (15 MSS). Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1906; crit. ed. MacCracken, EETSos 192.468-485 (386 lines). 17009:1, ff.2-10^{v}. Repr. Sykes, Roxburghe Club, 1818. 17010:1, ff.2-10^{v}. 17011:1, ff.1^{v}-8^{v}.

62. **Rydynge al alone with sorowe sore encombred.** 14477:1, ff.2-9^{v}. Smerte, *The Epitaffe of the moste noble & valyaunt Iasper late duke of Beddeforde* [1496]. 346: introduction and 20 sections in different verse forms, a metrical tour de force. IMEV 520 (no MS). Repr. A. Dyce, *Skelton,* II (1843), 388-398.

63. [S]alue with all obeisance to god in humblesse. 17030:3, ff. 3^{v}-4. Anon., "An holy Salue regina in englissh." 40: 5x8 MT. IMEV 3074 (2 MSS). MS pr. Dyboski, EETSos 101.60-61.

64. [Sithen the tyme that God was borne]. 12540:1, ff.? Anon. [*The Booke of the most victoryous Prince Guy of Warwick, c.* 1300]. ? 7976: couplets. Three-leaf fragment (L1, 7, 8), "wyth that the lumbardis fledde away . . .," containing lines 4663-4722, 5023-5142 of Copland's ed. See IMEV 3145 (3 MSS) and IMEV 3146 (1 MS). Copland's ed. repr. Schleich, *Palaestra*, 139. 12541:1, ff.? One-leaf fragment, "A man h[ad eno]wgh to don . . .," containing lines 7293-7382 of Copland's ed.

T Fader god how fyers and how cruell. *See* 54.

Take hede of castellys | and of towres hye (IMEV 3252). *See* 81.

65. The double sorow of Troylus to telle. 5094:1, a2-p4. Anon. [Chaucer], *Troylus as touchyng Creseyde* [1385], in five books. 8082: 1155x7 RR. IMEV 3327 (17 MSS). Crit. ed. R. K. Root (8239 lines).

The first stok | fader of gentilnesse. *See* 51.

66. The grete vertus of our elders notable. 7273:1, ff.1-4^{v}. *The morale prouerbes of Cristyne*, trans. by Antoin wideuylle therl Ryuers [*c.* 1478]. 202: couplets. Not in IMEV. Lines 1-26 and 195-202 pr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, I (1810), 72-73.

67. The laberous & y^{e} most meruelous werkes. 17015:1, a2-e4^{v}. Anon., *De Curia Sapiencie* [*c.* 1465]; prohemium and two books. 2310: 330x7 RR. IMEV 3406 (3 MSS) and IMEV 168 (2 MSS). Crit. ed. Spindler, *Beitrage zur englischen Philologie*, VI.

68. The lyf so short the craft so longe to lerne. 5091:1, ff.1-17. Anon. [Chaucer], *The temple of bras* [*c.* 1380-86]. 686: 98x7 RR. IMEV 3412 (15 MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Parallel-Text . . . Minor Poems*, pp. 50-98; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), pp. 362-372 (699 lines).

The mayster to his man maketh his Roys. *See* 87.

69. The parfite lyfe to put in remembraunce. 19812:1, ff.2-4^{v}. Anon. [untitled verses on St. Petronilla, possibly by Lydgate, before 1450]. 164: 20x8 MT, 1x4 abab. IMEV 3446 (no MS). Repr. H. Huth, *Fugitive Tracts . . . in Verse*, 1st ser. (1875), no. 1; MacCracken, EETSos 107.154-159.

70. **The wednesdayes | astynence and holy fast.** 24224:1, ff.1-4^{v}. Anon., *A lytel treatyse . . . to faste . . . on y^{e} wednesday.* 140: couplets. Not in IMEV. Repr. H. Huth, *Fugitive Tracts . . . in Verse,* 1st ser. (1875), no. 4.

71. **Ther be iiii. thynges full harde for to knaw.** 3308:7, f5^{v}. Anon., introductory couplet to prose. 2: couplet. Not in IMEV (MS Lansdowne 762 f.16^{v}, copied and changed from print, "There been thre thinges full harde to be knówen . . ."). Facsim. ed. Blades 1881; MS pr. Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae,* I (1841), 233. 3309:7, e3^{v}.

72. **Ther ne is dangyer | but of a vylayn.** 5057:1, f.6^{v}. Caxton [trans. of a French balade, possibly by Alain Chartier, 1484]. 28: 3x8 and 1x4 irregularly cross-rhymed. IMEV 3540 (no MS). Repr. Furnivall, EETSes 54.19.

73. **Ther nys soo hyghe comfort to my plesaunce.** 5089:2, B1-2^{v}. Anon. [Chaucer], "The compleynt of Venus for Mars" [before 1400]. 82: 9x8 ababbccb, 1x10 aabaabbaab. IMEV 3542 (7 MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Sup. Parallel-Text . . . Minor Poems,* pp. 158-160; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), pp. 633-634.

73a. **These scaterand scottes | hold I for sottes.** 991:2, K6 (chap. clxviii). Anon., verses made by the English at the siege of Dunbar, 1296. 6: 1x6 aabccb. IMEV 841 (12 MSS—also in MSS of the prose Brut). MS pr. Brie, EETSos 131.191. Probably also in 9992-9996.

74. **This breuyd boke of sobre quantyte.** 5643:1, B1-P3^{v}. Anon. [William of Touris], *The Contemplacyon of synners* [*c.* 1499]. 1576: 197x8 MT interspersed with Latin prose. IMEV 3584 (3 MSS). MS pr. Craigie, STSns 16.187-241.

Thys world ys born vp by astates seuyn (IMEV 3651). *See* 40.

75. **This wrecchid worldes transmutacoñ.** 5091:5, ff.22^{v}-24. Anon. [Chaucer], "Balade of the vilage without peyntyng" [before 1400]. 78: 9x8 MT, 1x6 ababab. IMEV 3661 (10 MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Sup. Parallel-Texts . . . Minor Poems,* pp. 168-170; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), pp. 630-631 (79 lines).

76. **Thou fiers god of armes | mars the rede.** 5090:1, ff.1-9. Anon. [Chaucer], "The compleynt of anelida . . . vpon false arcyte" [before 1400]. 341: 30x7 RR, 5x9 aabaabbab, 1x16 aaa$_{4}$b$_{5}$aaa$_{4}$-

$b_5bbb_4a_5$, 3x9, 1x16, 2x9 IMEV 3670 (8 complete and 5 partial MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Parallel-Text ... Minor Poems*, pp. 147-171; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), pp. 355-360 (357 lines).

Thus endeth the lyfe of Robert the deuyll. *See* STC 21071. After 1500.

77. **To you my purs | and to none other wight.** 5090:2, f.9^{r-v}. "The compleint of chaucer vnto his empty purse" and "Thenuoye of chaucer vnto the kynge," [before 1400]. 26: 3x7 RR, 1x5 aabba. IMEV 3787 (9 MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Odd Texts ... Minor Poems*, p. 296; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), p. 635.

78. **To broken ben the statutes hye in heuen.** 5091:6, f.24^{r-v}. "Thenuoye of chaucer to skegan" [before 1400]. 21: 3x7 RR [incomplete]. IMEV 3747 (3 MSS). Repr. Furnivall, Chaucer Soc. *Odd Texts ... Minor Poems*, p. 294; crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), p. 634 (49 lines).

79. **Too wyues in oon hous.** 3308:8, f5^{v}. Anon., untitled. 4: couplets. IMEV 3818 (2 MSS, one from print). Facsim. ed. Blades 1881. 3309:8, e3^{v}.

80. **Vnto the holy and vndeuided trynyte.** 17023:3, m5. The first of two "balades" trans. by Caxton from Latin, 1484. 7: 1x7 RR. Not in IMEV. Repr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, I (1810), 340; N. S. Aurner, *Caxton* (1926), p. 294. 17024:3?: m5?. Four-leaf fragment.

80a. **Wende kyng edward with his longe shankes.** 9991:1, K5^{v} (chap. clxviii). Anon., verses made by the Scots at the storming of Berwick, 1296. 5: 1x5 aabcb. Cf. IMEV 2754. MS of prose Brut pr. Brie, EETSos 131.189. Probably also in 9992-9996.

81. **What thynge maye sowne | to gretter excellence.** 13439:1, f.1^{v}. [Wynkyn de Worde], "An Introductorie Anno dñi. .M.cccc.-lxxxxv." 35: 5x7 RR. See IMEV 3252 (1 MS, lines 22-35 only, "Take hede of castellys and of towres hye ..."). Repr. Dibdin's ed. Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, II (1812), 50.

82. **Whan bryght phebus passed was the Ram.** 17031:1, a2-l7. Anon. [Lydgate], *The Storye of Thebes* [before 1450]. 4716: couplets. IMEV 3928 (27 MSS). Crit. ed. Erdman and Ekwall, EETSes 108 and 125.

83. Whan feyth failleth in prestes sawes. 5090:3, f.10. Anon., untitled prophecy. 6: couplets. IMEV 3943 (10 MSS); see IMEV 3986 (2 MSS). Repr. Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer,* VII, 450.

84. Whan I aduerte to my remembrance. 4850:1, ff.2-3. Anon. [trans. by Benedict Burgh, *c.* 1440], "paruus Catho." 50: 6x7 RR, 1x8 MT. IMEV 3955 (21 MSS). Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1906; crit. ed. Förster, Herrig's *Archiv,* CXV (1905), 303-304. 4851:1, ff.2-3. 4852:1, ff.2-3.

85. Whan Phebus in y^e^ crabbe had ner his cours ronne. 17005:1, A1-C3^v^. Lydgat [really anon.], [*The assemble of goddes,* after 1450]. 2106: 301x7 RR. IMEV 4005 (2 MSS, from prints?). MS pr. Triggs. EETSes, 69. 17006:1, a2-G4. Facsim. ed. Jenkinson 1906. 17007:1, a2-f6.

86. Whan that Apprill with his shouris sote. 5082:1, ff.1-326. Galfrydi Chaucer [*Canterbury Tales,* before 1400]; prologue, 23 verse tales, 23 links. 17042: couplets, RR, ababcb, $aa_4b_3aa_4b_3$, MT. IMEV 4019 (14 complete and 50 partial MSS). Crit. ed. Robinson, *Chaucer* (1933), pp. 19-314 (17395 lines). 5083:1, a3-G2. Revised by reference to another MS. 5084:1, a2-F8. 5085:1, a3-x6.

87. Wheresoeuere ye fare by fryth or by fell. 3308:1, e-f4. Dam Iulyans Barnes, *her boke of huntyng* [early 15th]. 597: couplets (in 33 sections, odd-lined sections have internal rhyme in last line). Lines 305-484, "The mayster to his man makyth his Roys . . . ," may have belonged originally to another work. IMEV 4064 (2 MSS). Facsim. ed. Blades 1881. 3309:1, c6-e2^v^.

88. Who that byldys his hous all of salowes. 3308:6, f5^v^. Anon., untitled [quoted as proverbial by Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Prologue,* 655-658]. 4: monorhyme. IMEV 4101 (1 MS from print). Facsim. ed. Blades 1881; MS pr. Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae,* I (1841), 233. 3309:6, e3.

89. Who that makith in Cristynmas a doog to his larder. 3308:4, f5^v^. Anon., untitled. 4: couplets. IMEV 4106 (2 MSS, from prints?). Facsim. ed. Blades 1881; MSS pr. Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae,* I (1841), 233, and Furnivall, EETSos 32.246. 3309:4, e3.

90. Who that mannyth hym with his kynne. 3308:9, f5^v^. Anon., untitled. 4: abab. Not in IMEV. Facsim. ed. Blades 1881. 3309:9, e3^v^.

91. **Who that wol lodge hymself herynne.** 3124:1, f.? (chap. xiii). Anon., trans. Caxton, "the ballade that was wryton vpon the gate of the prouostis place of Tourmaday," [*c.* 1489]. 9: aaxaxbbba. Not in IMEV. Repr. Kellner, EETSes 58.46.

92. **Who so of welthe taketh no hede.** 17030:5, f.4^{v}. Anon., untitled words of advice. 12: couplets. IMEV 4137 (1 MS). MS pr. Dyboski. EETSes 101.139.

93. **Who so wole haue helle.** 26012:2, c7^{v}-d3^{v} (Quarta Tabula). Anon. [The Seven Deadly Sins, 14th cent.]. 30: couplets, interspersed with prose. IMEV 4150 (30 MSS) and, without introductory couplet, IMEV 1286 (9 MSS). Crit. ed. G. Holmstedt, EETSos 182.58-71.

94. **Wyth empty honde men may no hawkes lure.** 5091:3, f.21^{v}. Anon., untitled [lines 1-2 are Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 415 and 414]. 7: 1x7 RR. Not in IMEV.

With laude and prise | my soule magnefieth. *See* 55.

With pyte moued to my payne I dyde me dres. *See* STC 10608. After 1500.

95. **Wytte hath wonder and kynde ne can.** 17030:4, f.4^{v}. Anon. [? Reginald Pecock, *c.* 1455], untitled. 4: couplets. IMEV 4181 (11 MSS). MS pr. Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XV Century* (1939), p. 186.

96. **Worshyped be this holy fest day.** 6473:11, n5^{v} (Bk. V, chap. xii). Anon. trans. [by Hoccleve?] from French, "The songe on the twelue day," 1413. 28: 4x7 RR. IMEV 1242 (7 MSS). MS pr. Furnivall, EETSes 72.xlvii-viii. 6474:11, n5^{v}.

Ye that be nobly groundid all in grace. *See* 12 "Lenuoy."

ACEPHALOUS POEMS

97. **⟨ ⟩ am I lent by diuyne prouidence | ⟨ ⟩ we mankynde by doctryne euydent** [lines 2-3]. 17037:1, single sheet printed on one side. Anon., Verses on the Seven Virtues. 56: 7x8 MT. Not in IMEV. Brit. Mus. copy defective at top, bottom, and left side.

98. **But y the goste of guydo him ⟨ ⟩ | in my words ne in my deds shal non of iou me ⟨ ⟩.** 12477:1. Two-strip fragment containing parts of 15 lines of a version of the *Gast of Gy*. ? lines: couplets. Not in IMEV. Repr. Duff, *Athenaeum*, 24 Aug. 1901, p. 254; and Duff no. 169.

CONCORDANCE OF *SHORT-TITLE CATALOGUE* AND DUFF NUMBERS**

*158	3	325	216	*1987	44	*4921	82
*175	4	×326	217	2993	137	*5013	83
*176	5	×327	217	3124	45	×5057	84
*177	6	328	218	*3175	46	*5065	85
*258	9	×329	220	*3199	47	*5082	87
268	7	330	219	*3259	48	×5083	88
*270	8	×581	26	*3260	49	×5084	89
*273	10	582	27	*3261	50	×5085	90
×277	11	*695	28	*3262	51	×5087	86
*278	12	*696	29	×3297	52	×5089	91
*279	13		30	×3303	53	×5090	92
*280	14		31	×3304	54	×5091	93
282	15	752	32	*3305	55	×5094	94
*283	16	*786	33	*3308	56	*5293	103
284	17	787	34	*3309	57	*5312	104
*285	18	*789	35	*3326	58	*5572	397
*286	19	790	36	4589	72	5573	398
287	20	×801	283	*4590	73	×5643	106
*314	21	×802	284	*4591	74		108
315	22	922	38	*4594	75	*5758	109
316	23		39	×4850	76	5759	110
317	24	*1007	152	×4851	77	*6289	111
	25	*1536	40	×4852	78	6442	112
322	214	*1916	41	*4853	79	×6473	267
323	215	*1917	42	*4890	80	*6474	267
324	215	*1978	43	*4920	81	*6826	123

** Asterisks or crosses indicate items examined by the compiler. Items in parentheses are probably after 1500. Items in square brackets are duplicate or erroneous entries. For 13827.1 see C. K. Edmonds, *Huntington Lib. Bull.*, IV, 66. 15294 and 23177 (the latter identical with 15295) are editions of Stanbridge's *Long Parvula* (*TLS*, Dec. 9, 1939, p. 717). All of the following items, not in the STC, should be added as indicated. After 176, Aesop, de Worde 1500? (H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, 1952, p. 242). After 330, Indulgence, Pynson 1499, Queen's College, Oxford. After 330, Bull of Alexander VI, Pynson 1499 (*TLS*, July 12, 1941, p. 340). After 15887, Sarum Horae, P. Pigouchet *c.* 1498 (Ellis Catalogue 345). After 15895, Sarum Horae, undated (*Lib.*, 5th ser., V, 204). After 17966, Mirk, 1499—Duff 315-316 (*Lib.*, 5th ser., IV, 73). Before 18872, *Os facies mentum*, Antwerp and Paris 1500 (E. Pafort, *Lib.*, 4th ser., XXVI, 228-231). After 19442, fragments of two editions of *Long Parvula* (Edmonds, p. 85, and Pafort). Before 23878, *Old Tenures*, *c.* 1494 (C. F. Bühler, *Lib.*, 4th ser., XVIII, 261-267). After 24190, *Epitome Margaritae eloquentiae*, Caxton 1480 (*Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, XXXIV, 245-247).

6827	123a	×9806	427		121	*15721	275
*6828	124	×9812	428		122	*15722	276
*6829	125	×9819	429	13809	231	*15794	60
*6931	126	×9825	430	*13810	232	15795	61
*7009	133	9836	431	*13827.1	353	15796	62
*7010	134	*9991	97	*13829	202	15797	63
7011	128	*9992	98	13922	116	15798	64
7013	129	*9993	99	*14042	203	*15799	65
7014	130	*9994	100	*14072		15800	66
7016	131	*9995	101	14072a		*15801	67
*7017	132	*9996	102	14078	223	15802	68
*7269	96	*11024	151	*14079	224	*15803	69
*7273	95		153	*14081	225	15804	70
7541	135		154	14096	227	15805	71
*7566	136		155	14097	228	15848	148
*9176	351	×11601	156	*14098	229	15849	149
*9264	378	11602	157	14099	230	15850	
*9332	387		158	14100	211	15851	143
*9347	379		159	14101	212	15852	144
*9348	380		160	*14102	213	15853	145
9349	381	*11609	161	14103	226	15854	146
9350	382	11610	162	14477	233	15855	147
*9352	383	11611	163	*14507	235	*15856	59
9353	384	×12138	165	*14508	236	*15867	174
*9354	385	*12142	166	*14546	107	15868	175
*9355	386	*12470	167	*14551	222	15869	176
*9513	375	*12471	168	14621	237	15870	177
*9514	376	*12477	169	×15294	239	15871	178
*9515	377	12540	170	[15295	240]	15872	179
9603	37	12541	171	*15296	241	15873	180
*9650	416	*13175	164	*15297	238	15874	181
*9691	417	*13438	172	*15375	242	*15875	182
*9731	418	*13439	173		243	15876	183
*9737	419	*13440a	113		244	15877	184
*9742	420	×13440b	114	*15383	245	15878	185
9743		*13609	1	*15384	246	15879	
*9749	421	×13610	2	*15394	248	*15880	186
9755	422	×13687	361	*15395	249	15881	187
*9770	423	*13688	362	15396	250	15882	188
9771		*13808	117	*15397	251	×15883	189
×9784	424		118	15572	252	*15884	190
×9790	425		119	*15719	273	*15885	191
×9796	426		120	15720	274	*15886	192

*15887	193	×17020	263	17966	314	21458	367
*15888	194	17021	264		315	22582	204
15889	195	*17022	265		316	22582a	205
×15890	196	×17023	266	*17967	317	22583	206
15891	197	×17024	266a	"	318	22584	207
*15892	198	×17030	269	*17968	319	22585	208
15893	199	×17031	268	"	320	*22586	209
15894	200	×17032	270	*18361	334	22587	210
15895	201	×17032a	271	*18385	332	*22588	371
*16110	138	17033	272	18386	333	22597	372
*16111	139	*17037		*19206	337	[22605 dup.	
16112	140	*17102	278	*19207	338	14477]	
16113	141	*17103	279	*19212	339	×22905	115
16114	142	*17104	280	*19213	340	23177	373
[16115]		*17105	281	*19325	341	*23238	374
16136	247	17106	282	19327		*23425	388
16138	287	*17246	285	*19439	342	23426	389
*16139	288	17247	286	19440	343	*23427	390
16164	322	×17325	289	(19441	344)	23878	335
16165	321	17534	105	19442	345	23885	391
16166	323	17539	297		346	*23904	392
*16167	324	17720	290	19478	221	*23905	393
16168	325	*17721	291	*19627	396	*23906	394
*16169		*17722	292	*19812	347	*23907	395
16170	326	17723	293	19827	348	24189	368
16171	327	17724	294	*20195	150	*24190	369
16172	328	17725	295	*20412	400	24224	413
16173	329	17726	296	20414	350	*24234	399
*16174	330	*17957	298	×20415	349	*24762	401
16175	331	"	299	*20434	352	*24763	402
16228	336	17958	300	20878	356	*24766	403
16253	354	17959	301	*20882			403a
16254	355	"	302	*20917	357	*24796	404
16693	277	*17960	303	*20919	358	*24865	405
*17005	253	"	304	*20920	359	×24866	407
*17006	254	17961	305	*20921	360	×24867	406
*17007	255	"	306	*21261	363	*24873	408
×17008	256	*17962	307	*21297	370	*24874	409
17009	257	"	308	21334	364	*24875	410
×17010	258	*17963	309	21335	365	*24876	411
×17011	259	"	310	*21429	366	25001	412
×17015	260	*17964	311	*21431	127	*25853	414
×17018	261	17965	312	*21443	234	*26012	415
×17019	262	"	313				

CONCORDANCE OF DUFF AND *SHORT-TITLE CATALOGUE* NUMBERS

1	13609	41	1916	81	4920	121	–
2	13610	42	1917	82	4921	122	–
3	158	43	1978	83	5013	123	6826
4	175	44	1987	84	5057	123a	6827
5	176	45	3124	85	5065	124	6828
6	177	46	3175	86	5087	125	6829
7	268	47	3199	87	5082	126	6931
8	270	48	3259	88	5083	127	21431
9	258	49	3260	89	5084	128	7011
10	273	50	3261	90	5085	129	7013
11	277	51	3262	91	5089	130	7014
12	278	52	3297	92	5090	131	7016
13	279	53	3303	93	5091	132	7017
14	280	54	3304	94	5094	133	7009
15	282	55	3305	95	7273	134	7010
16	283	56	3308	96	7269	135	7541
17	284	57	3309	97	9991	136	7566
18	285	58	3326	98	9992	137	2993
19	286	59	15856	99	9993	138	16110
20	287	60	15794	100	9994	139	16111
21	314	61	15795	101	9995	140	16112
22	315	62	15796	102	9996	141	16113
23	316	63	15797	103	5293	142	16114
24	317	64	15798	104	5312	143	15851
25	–	65	15799	105	17534	144	15852
26	581	66	15800	106	5643	145	15853
27	582	67	15801	107	14546	146	15854
28	695	68	15802	108	–	147	15855
29	696	69	15803	109	5758	148	15848
30	–	70	15804	110	5759	149	15849
31	–	71	15805	111	6289	150	20195
32	752	72	4589	112	6442	151	11024
33	786	73	4590	113	13440a	152	1007
34	787	74	4591	114	13440b	153	–
35	789	75	4594	115	22905	154	–
36	790	76	4850	116	13922	155	–
37	9603	77	4851	117	13808	156	11601
38	922	78	4852	118	–	157	11602
39	–	79	4853	119	–	158	–
40	1536	80	4890	120	–	159	–

160	–	203	14042	246	15384	288	16139
161	11609	204	22582	247	16136	289	17325
162	11610	205	22582a	248	15394	290	17720
163	11611	206	22583	249	15395	291	17721
164	13175	207	22584	250	15396	292	17722
165	12138	208	22585	251	15397	293	17723
166	12142	209	22586	252	15572	294	17724
167	12470	210	22587	253	17005	295	17725
168	12471	211	14100	254	17006	296	17726
169	12477	212	14101	255	17007	297	17539
170	12540	213	14102	256	17008	298	17957
171	12541	214	322	257	17009	299	"
172	13438	215	323	258	17010	300	17958
173	13439	216	325	259	17011	301	17959
174	15867	217	326	260	17015	302	"
175	15868	218	328	261	17018	303	17960
176	15869	219	330	262	17019	304	"
177	15870	220	329	263	17020	305	17961
178	15871	221	19478	264	17021	306	"
179	15872	222	14551	265	17022	307	17962
180	15873	223	14078	266	17023	308	"
181	15874	224	14079	266a	17024	309	17963
182	15875	225	14081	267	6473	310	"
183	15876	226	14103	268	17031	311	17964
184	15877	227	14096	269	17030	312	17965
185	15878	228	14097	270	17032	313	"
186	15880	229	14098	271	17032a	314	17966
187	15881	230	14099	272	17033	315	–
188	15882	231	13809	273	15719	316	–
189	15883	232	13810	274	15720	317	17967
190	15884	233	14477	275	15721	318	"
191	15885	234	21443	276	15722	319	17968
192	15886	235	14507	277	16693	320	"
193	15887	236	14508	278	17102	321	16165
194	15888	237	14621	279	17103	322	16164
195	15889	238	15297	280	17104	323	16166
196	15890	239	15294	281	17105	324	16167
197	15891	240	15295	282	17106	325	16168
198	15892	241	15296	283	801	326	16170
199	15893	242	15375	284	802	327	16171
200	15894	243	–	285	17246	328	16172
201	15895	244	–	286	17247	329	16173
202	13829	245	15383	287	16138	330	16174

331	16175	357	20917	383	9352	407	24866
332	18385	358	20919	384	9353	408	24873
333	18386	359	20920	385	9354	409	24874
334	18361	360	20921	386	9355	410	24875
335	23878	361	13687	387	9332	411	24876
336	16228	362	13688	388	23425	412	25001
337	19206	363	21261	389	23426	413	24224
338	19207	364	21334	390	23427	414	25853
339	19212	365	21335	391	23885	415	26012
340	19213	366	21429	392	23904	416	9650
341	19325	367	21458	393	23905	417	9691
342	19439	368	24189	394	23906	418	9731
343	19440	369	24190	395	23907	419	9737
344	19441	370	21297	396	19627	420	9742
345	19442	371	22588	397	5572	421	9749
346	–	372	22597	398	5573	422	9755
347	19812	373	23177	399	24234	423	9770
348	19827	374	23238	400	20412	424	9784
349	20415	375	9513	401	24762	425	9790
350	20414	376	9514	402	24763	426	9796
351	9176	377	9515	403	24766	427	9806
352	20434	378	9264	403a	–	428	9812
353*	13827.1	379	9347	404	24796	429	9819
354	16253	380	9348	405	24865	430	9825
355	16254	381	9349	406	24867	431	9836
356	20878	382	9350				

* Probably *c.* 1502.

WILLIAM RINGLER

Washington University,
St. Louis, Mo.

John Donne's Dark Lantern

The third stanza of *A Litanie* appears as follows in Miss Helen Gardner's edition of Donne's *Divine Poems:*

The Holy Ghost

O Holy Ghost, whose temple I
Am, but of mudde walls, and condensed dust,
And being sacrilegiously
Halfe wasted with youths fires, or pride and lust,
Must with new stormes be weatherbeat;
Double in my heart thy flame,
Which let devout sad teares intend; and let
(Though this glasse lanthorne, flesh, do suffer maime)
Fire, Sacrifice, Priest, Altar be the same.[1]

Miss Gardner accepts "glasse lanthorne" in the penultimate line on the strength of eleven manuscripts—five in Group I, four in Group II, and two in Group III—as well as the first edition of 1633 and Sir Herbert Grierson's edition of 1912.

Now this is formidable authority, and something could be said for considering the passage definitely edited, like so much that Miss Gardner has touched. But here we cannot be certain, since she herself tells us that three of the Group III manuscripts—*B*, *Dob*, and *S 96*—agree on "darke lanterne" instead of "glasse lanthorne," raising the not unimportant problem of the status of these collections. Did Donne write "dark lanterne" as well as "glasse lanthorne"? If so, which was written first, and why was a change made? Miss Gardner thinks that "darke" is not Donne's word: "The stanza contrasts the impermanence of the body with the eternal sameness of the Spirit. It is only of 'mudde walls', a phrase Donne used in his *Devotions* . . . ; it has been profaned by the fires of lust and must suffer the storms of sickness in age. Its fragility, not its darkness, needs emphasis. It seems likely that 'darke' is an error and not a genuine early reading, as *Lut* and *O'F* have 'glasse', which cannot be called an obvious correction of 'darke'. I do not believe Donne ever wrote 'darke' but since the error is not absolutely obvious, I have recorded it."[2]

It is my contention that "darke lanterne" is not an error, but is a genuine early metaphor which Donne for a compelling reason decided to change. If it were possible to fix the dates at which *B*, *Dob*, and *S 96* were compiled, the problem of their priority would be solved; but unfor-

[1] Oxford, 1952, p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

tunately, such dates are not easy to discover. According to Miss Gardner, "*B* would seem to have been written about 1620, since, although it obviously aims at completeness, it contains only the first of Donne's Hymns, written in 1619, and does not contain the Hamilton Elegy of 1625."[3] Is it so obvious, however, that the unknown compiler aimed at completeness? Might he not have left out poems he did not like? But whether or not he aimed at completeness, he might have failed to achieve a complete copy because he did not know of other Donne Hymns or of the Hamilton Elegy, or because he was not able to find copies of them. In such matters, conclusions based upon negative evidence are not trustworthy.

Neither is it possible to assign a date to *Dob* or to *S 96* with any confidence. "If we accept Walton's story," says Miss Gardner, "that the 'Hymn to God my God, in my sickness' was written by Donne on his death-bed, then *S 96* must . . . have been written after 1631. But if . . . it seems more likely that Sir Julius Caesar was right and that the Hymn was written in Donne's severe illness of 1623, then we can regard *S 96* as a collection made in the middle twenties."[4] We can indeed, but with no assurance that we are right. *S 96* may have been, like most commonplace books, a collection made over many years, the number of poems growing as the compiler came upon additional verses which were new to him. Only modest conclusions are possible from the evidence: if the "Hymn to God my God" were written on Donne's death-bed, it could not have been entered in a collection of his poems before his death in 1631; if it were written in 1623, it was entered after that date.

Several principles might be adduced which limit the kind of inference which might be drawn from the presence of a poem in such compilations as the Group III manuscripts: (1) The presence of a poem proves only that it had been written before the collection was completed. (2) Even if the date of the composition of the poem is known, nothing can be inferred about the date of any other poem in the collection, nor of the collection as a whole. (3) Because of the accidental character of the compilation, the absence of a poem from the collection is no proof whatever that the poem had not yet been written, nor that the collection was made at a certain date. There is no way, then, of establishing the fact that "darke lanterne" is a genuine early reading simply because it occurs in three early manuscripts.

A more fruitful technique is to study the variants in each poem in order to see which looks like the corrected form, though even here we must

[3] *Ibid.*, p. lxxii.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. lxxiii.

make the dangerous assumption that what seems the better reading to us, also seemed better to Donne. Miss Gardner has pointed to two examples—"Workes" in line 78, and "Robe" in line 173—which suggest that Group III has an earlier version of *A Litanie* than have Groups I and II. She also believes that the Group III reading of line 35, "Of all these let all me elemented be," may be the original form. I submit that "darke lanterne" is a fourth example which helps prove that *B, Dob,* and *S 96* have preserved an earlier version of this poem.

The dark lantern, according to the Oxford Dictionary, is "a lantern with a slide or arrangement by which the light can be concealed." To be sure, the earliest example cited is an abbreviated version of the following passage from Thomas Fuller's *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650): "The Egyptians overtook not the camp of Israel, being parted with the pillar of the cloud, the first and perfect pattern of the dark-lantern; dark indeed to the Egyptians . . . but a lantern to the Israelites."[5] However, I am prepared to show that the word had been in use since the early years of the century, and consequently it is likely that Donne was acquainted with it.

The metaphor which Miss Gardner rejects is more typical of Donne's vivid imagery than the weaker "glasse lanthorne." Moreover, it expresses Donne's meaning more precisely than the accepted reading. The first half of the stanza is an allusion to I Cor. 6: 18-19: "Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. What? know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?" But the second half of the stanza shifts the image from the body as temple to the body as lantern. Surely it is easier to transfer our attention from temple to dark lantern than from temple to glass lantern.

Donne wished to do more than contrast the impermanence of the body with the sameness of the Spirit. No one knew better than he that the flesh is frail; and if this were all that he had in mind to say, the image of the glass panels being buffeted by storms suggests the frailty well enough. But he wished also to make the interesting observation that the body when ill is at cross purposes with the Spirit, just as the body when filled with youthful lust and pride threatens the Spirit. He has just been at pains to tell us that the body was made up of "mudde walls, and condensed dust." In addition to being weak, the muddy fabric or dark panels of the body

[5] IV, iii, 9.

prevent the passage of spiritual light, just as Shakespeare's Lorenzo says the body prevents us from hearing the music of the spheres:

> Such harmony is in immortal souls;
> But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it.

Why, then, would Donne change this effective metaphor for the less imaginative "glasse lanthorne"? The reason seems to be that after November 5, 1605, "darke lanterne" had connotations of treason because of its association with the Gunpowder Plot. It was widely known that when Guy Fawkes was found lurking in the Parliament cellar, he had in his possession a dark lantern. Artists seized upon the detail as a vivid symbol of his perfidy, and regularly drew Fawkes stealing through the streets with such a lantern throwing a single beam of light before his feet.[6] According to Father Gerard, one of the historians of the Gunpowder Plot, "Fawkes is generally said to have been found with it in his hands, and it has consequently become an inseparable adjunct in pictures of him."[7] What is alleged to be the actual lantern is on display at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

Literary men as well as artists used the detail as a symbol of treachery. In Fletcher's *The Night-Walker* (*ca.* 1614) Wildbrain enters with such a lantern and says,

> My Aunt has turn'd me out a doors, she has,
> At this unchristian hour, and I do walk,
> Methinks like *Guido Faux* with my dark Lanthorn,
> Stealing to set the Town a fire.[8]

The power of "dark lantern" to suggest Guy Fawkes became so strong that later poets did not need to elaborate the reference, a circumstance

[6] The six seventeenth-century prints of the scene reproduced in Father John Gerard's *What was the Gunpowder Plot?* (London, 1897), show Fawkes holding a dark lantern. Two other contemporary illustrations from Carleton's *Thankfull Remembrance* (1625), reproduced in Hugh Ross Williamson's *The Gunpowder Plot* (London, 1941), also show this kind of lantern.

[7] *What was the Gunpowder Plot?*, p. 241. In 1605, it was sometimes called "a false lantern" (S. R. Gardner, *What Gunpowder Plot Was* [London, 1897], p. 129, n. 1). In the same year, Sir Edward Hobart referred to it as "one of those close lanterns" (*The Court of King James the First*, ed. John S. Brewer [London, 1839], II, 111).

[8] Act III, ll. 115-118, in *Works*, ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1909), VII, 342. The exact date of *The Night-Walker* is not known. Baldwin Maxwell says 1611 (*Studies in Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger* [Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939], pp. 46-53). But Eugene M. Waith says 1614 (*The Pattern of Tragicomedy in Beaumont and Fletcher* [New Haven, 1952], p. 107).

which has prevented some editors from recognizing the allusion. For instance, when the Lady in *Comus* (1637) mentions this type of lantern, it seems most likely that Milton is using the traditional association of the word:

> O theevish Night
> Why shouldst thou, but for som fellonious end,
> In thy dark Lantern thus close up the Stars? [9]

A year later, Francis Quarles used the figure to dramatize the perfidy of reason:

> Alas, what serves our reason,
> But, like dark lanthorns, to accomplish Treason
> With greater closenesse.[10]

As late as 1651, William Cartwright was using the correlation of *dark lantern* with treachery which had been established by the Gunpowder Plot; but by now so many nights had swept over that the association could be used for comic purposes. Describing a lady's veil, he said,

> 'Tis the Dark-Lanthorn to the face; O then
> May we not think there's Treason against Men? [11]

The word was being freed of its burden of terror, and might in time be useful to poets without its pejorative connotation. In fact, in 1655 William Hammond was using the word as Donne had wished to do—as a metaphor for *body* with no reference to Guy Fawkes. He speaks of the end of life, when

> the glimmering light,
> Bereav'd of her dark lanthorn, should be quite
> Blown out by death.[12]

[9] Lines 194-196, *Works*, ed. F. A. Patterson, *et al.* (New York, 1931), I, 92. The allusion was pointed out in 1801 by the Rev. Henry John Todd: "Milton's uncommon expressions, *thievish night*, *felonious end*, and *dark lantern*, seem as if resulting from the consideration of circumstances peculiar to a subject, that had often employed his pen; I mean the *Gunpowder-Plot*. See his fine poem *In Quintum Novembris*, and his four epigrams *In Proditionem Bombardicam* [Todd overlooked a fifth epigram on the subject, *In inventorem Bombardae*]. Nor would Milton, I think, have used these remarkable phrases, if he had not intended an allusion to the history" (*Poetical Works* [London, 1801], V, 273 n.).

[10] *Emblemes* (1635), V, xii, in *Works*, ed. Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (London, 1881), III, 98.

[11] Lines 15-16, *Plays and Poems*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Madison, 1951), p. 483.

[12] "Death," ll. 23-25, "Poems," in *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period*, ed. George Saintsbury (Oxford, 1906), II, 511.

But if the word ever had a chance of rehabilitation, the opportunity was lost after the Fire of 1666, which some Protestants thought was the work of unrepentant Jesuits. During the height of the fire a suspicious Walloon was arrested on Leadenhall Street, carrying in his hand an "Instrument like a *dark Lanthorn* fill'd with *Gunpowder* conceiv'd to lay a train of powder."[13]

With these examples before us, it is possible to speculate as to the reason why Donne changed "darke lanterne" to "glasse lanthorne." Probably he did not change the word because, as a former Catholic, he found the memory of the Gunpowder Plot embarrassing. On the contrary, he wished to keep that memory alive, and said in 1617 that whoever "wishes that it might be forgotten, wishes that it might have proceeded."[14] He changed the word because he knew that his readers, coming on "darke lanterne" in the heart of a devotional poem, would have a sudden and irrelevant *frisson* as they thought of Guy Fawkes in the Parliament cellar.

On the basis, then, of the authority of three Group III manuscripts, the context of the poem itself, and the history of the word, the likelihood that Donne wrote "darke lanterne" must be affirmed. My findings lend some corroboration to Mrs. Simpson's thesis, adopted from Grierson, that *B*, *Dob*, and *S 96* "preserved an earlier draft than that found in 1633, which represents Donne's corrected text."[15] But I should like to go further and suggest that these three manuscripts preserve an earlier draft of *A Litanie* than is to be found in any other extant manuscript, and so for this poem, at least, have a special importance as a record of Donne's first thoughts.

Paul Elmen

Northwestern University

Erhard Ratdolt's Vanity

One of the rarest of the volumes printed by Erhard Ratdolt in Venice is his edition of Paulus Pergulensis, *Compendium logicae*, September 13, 1481. No copy of this edition was located in any of the public libraries of France or Belgium by Pellechet and Polain; according to their printed

[13] *Pyrotechnica Loyolana, Ignatian Fire-works* (London, 1667), p. 22. The frontispiece of this book shows Fawkes and his dark lantern.

[14] *Sermons*, eds. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson (Berkeley, 1953), I, 219.

[15] Evelyn Mary Simpson, "The Text of Donne's Divine Poems," *Essays and Studies*, XXVI (1941), 104.

catalogues, this work is not in the great English Libraries (British Museum, Bodleian, University Library Cambridge, or John Rylands Library); and it is not represented in such famous German collections as those of Berlin, Leipzig, Munich or Trier. The standard bibliography of Ratdolt's work (Gilbert Redgrave, *Erhard Ratdolt and his Work at Venice*, London, 1894) merely lists the work, as number 19, with the statement: "Panzer III. 167, 519, refers to a copy in the public library at Nürnberg"; not even a collation is given here. The only complete copy in this country is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (PML 24559; Stillwell *Census* P161) and the only adequate bibliographical account of the work known to this writer is that given by Isak Collijn for the Stockholm copy (*Katalog der Inkunabeln der kgl. Bibliothek in Stockholm*, Stockholm, 1914-16, I, 184, no. 805).

In his description, however, Collijn overlooked a typographical point of no little interest. For the heading of the six-line stanza by Jacobus Sentinus in honor of the printer, Collijn prints: ¶ Eiusdem [i.e., Eiuſdem] Jacobi in impreſſoris laudem Erhardi radolt au- || -guſtenſis ||. While it is true that the text now reads thus in the Morgan copy, this was not what Ratdolt had originally printed. As it came from the press, the line ended with "laudem," the remaining words having been supplied (possibly stamped in) after the printing of the sheet had been completed.

The reason for the insertion is plain. The third line of the poem is: "Hocce opus impreſſit mira nunc arte Gyrardus" (Gerhard has now, by extraordinary skill, printed this work). But our printer's given name was Erhard, not Gerhard in any of its forms; these names are not identical, do not mean the same thing, and are not linguistically related. Erhard derives from Old High German *êra* (Middle High German *êre*, Modern German *ehre*), while Gerhard stems from OHG and MHG *gêr* (Old English *gâr*), meaning *spear*. Consequently Ratdolt thought it both necessary and desirable to inform the purchasers that his Christian name was Erhard, not Gerhard as the poem by Sentinus suggests.

The reason for the presence of this slip is less certain. Conceivably, the humanist Jacobus Sentinus might not have been sufficiently familiar with the printer Ratdolt to be sure of his given name; possibly he had misunderstood this (the two names, of course, sound much alike). In that event, one must conclude that Ratdolt overlooked the slip when the page was being composed, since he could easily have made the necessary correction in the text before printing. Alternatively, one might argue that Sentinus had originally written these lines for another printer (Gerardus

de Lisa comes to mind), and that Ratdolt had simply reprinted an earlier edition without making any alteration in the text. This, for example, was precisely what Baptista de Tortis did in his reprint of September 13, 1486 (Hain 12623; BMC V:324); he omits, however, the supplementary notice that the printer was Erhard Ratdolt of Augsburg and does not substitute his own name at that place. The only difficulty with this explanation for the text of Ratdolt's edition is that no earlier edition is known, and Ratdolt's printing is generally regarded as the *editio princeps* of the *Compendium logicae* by Paulus Pergulensis. Thus we are compelled to believe that the reading Gerhard was an accidental slip by Jacobus Sentinus, which Erhard Ratdolt's vanity would not permit him to ignore.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

John More's Translations

At the Folger Shakespeare Library, while cross-checking all books printed by John and William Rastell, I noted in the *Short-Title Catalogue* under *Nausea, Fridericus, Bp.*, no. 18414, this item: "A sermon of the sacrament of the aulter." The work had been translated by John More and printed by William Rastell in 1533. One copy, in the Harmsworth collection, was listed; the Folger had acquired that collection; Bishop's *Checklist of American Copies* listed it at the Folger. Though it was not yet catalogued, it was quickly made available.

An examination of the volume, in which this translation appears as the third item, with Sir Thomas More's *Apology* and his *Letter against Frith,* indicates that it was printed separately. The title is accurate, since the book defends the belief of the real presence in the sacrament. The preface, with its apologies for the youth of the translator, confirms the idea that he was the son of Sir Thomas More; for John More was twenty-four or twenty-five years old in 1533. The original author was evidently Frederic Nausea, a bishop of Vienna, who waged many battles with the Lutherans and who died while he was attending the Council of Trent in 1552.[1]

So far as I know, there has been no mention—at least in English—of this translation by John More in any discussion of Sir Thomas More or of his son. Perhaps it is unknown to many of us because it is listed in the

[1] *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907-1912), X, 719-720.

STC only as the third item under *Nausea*, and because the editor of the *Checklist* deals only in numbers. But it is of interest for several reasons.

First, the translation offers evidence that John More, the son (like William Rastell, the nephew) was giving positive support to Sir Thomas in his defense of the Catholic faith in 1533, when such support was becoming dangerous.

Second, added to the known fact that John More translated a geographical work by the Portuguese scholar, Damian à Goes, this theological translation shows the young man's varied interests. The translation from Goes (STC 11966), entitled *The legacye or embassate of prester John unto Emanuell, Kynge of Portyngale*, was also printed by William Rastell in 1533. One scholar has said[2] that Goes was once a guest of Sir Thomas More and a visitor to Oxford, but she gives no evidence for the statement, and I have been unable to find any other reference to an English visit. But Goes did have some connections on the continent with Erasmus, Vives, and Reginald Pole.[3] In 1532 or 1533 Goes met Erasmus at Freiburg, and gave him a copy of the work which John More translated. In 1533 Vives wrote congratulating Goes on an appointment which he had received from the king of Portugal. About the same time, Goes and Reginald Pole were exchanging letters of affection and understanding.

Third, the two translations from Frederic Nausea and Damian à Goes indicate that John More was beginning his mature work as a scholar. It seems reasonable to suppose that his career was stopped in 1534 and 1535 by his father's imprisonment and execution and by his own imprisonment. For Stapleton tells us that every male member of the More household except Sir Thomas was imprisoned for refusing the oath, but that all of them were eventually released through the influence of powerful friends.

Pearl Hogrefe

Iowa State College

[2] Eva G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography* (London, 1930), pp. 8-10.

[3] Henry de Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia: Texts and Studies about Louvain Humanists* (Louvain, London, 1934), pp. 611-698.

Book Reviews

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. [Published according to the True Originall Copies. London. Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623]. A facsimile edition prepared by Helge Kökeritz. With an introduction by Charles Tyler Prouty. New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1954. 8½ x 11 inches. $15.

Studies in Bibliography; Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume Seven. 1955. Charlottesville, Virginia, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1955. 5⅝ x 9½ inches. $6 to non-members; $4.50 to subscribing members.

The possibility of a mere mortal's becoming the proud possessor of a real First Folio edition of Shakespeare has never been great. At best the original edition of perhaps 500 copies was not large, time has taken a heavy if not excessive toll, more and more the extant exemplars are finding their way into public or institutional collections (there are 79 at the Folger Library alone), and even if the book were not comparatively rare, the desirability of the First Folio has priced it quite beyond the range of even the extraordinarily enthusiastic collector. It is, therefore, highly proper that a "poor man's Folio" be made available to Everyman so that one of the world's greatest books may be owned and read and studied at first hand in something approximating its habit as it lived.

To be sure, there have been facsimile Folios before: that produced by photolithography under the superintendence of Howard Staunton in 1866, that by collotype under the direction of Sir Sidney Lee in 1902, and that by photo-zincography by Methuen and Company in 1910 as part of a series (1904-10) which also included the folios of 1632, 1663-4, and 1685. In 1928 the reproduction of individual plays was begun under the direction of Professor J. Dover Wilson, but the enterprise was left incomplete by depression and war. These four facsimiles were all full

size. In addition there was a popular reduced facsimile (4⅞ x 7⅞) also by photolithography, issued in 1876 with an introduction by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps and kept in print for over fifty years. The last named was handy and readily obtainable, but it was both a poor and an unscholarly job, as has recently been demonstrated,[1] and this fact is all the more reason why a new facsimile is welcome.

The present work reproduces as faithfully and accurately as modern techniques permit the unusually excellent Huth copy which is now in the possession of the Elizabethan Club at Yale University. Except for the removal of a few stains which time has left on the pages, no other retouching has been undertaken—an abstention which earlier reproducers might well have practiced. Whatever smudginess or illegibility remains—and there is considerable—is that of the original and reproduces simply the result of poor Elizabethan presswork. Unlike the Gutenberg Bible, the First Folio Shakespeare has never been sought as an example of fine printing, whatever its literary and historical importance.

This Yale facsimile has two paginations, the original number at the top of the page (each section of Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies being paged separately and sometimes erroneously), and a new continuous pagination supplied by the editor, Professor Helge Kökeritz, at the foot of each page. In addition, at the foot of the second column of each page there is a notation of the standard act, scene, and number of the last line of the right-hand column. There is an introduction by Professor Charles T. Prouty of Yale on the bibliographical history of the First Folio, Shakespeare's text, and how the plays got into print. Regrettably this essay, while admirably written, is marred by several misprints: *theselves* instead of *themselves* in a quotation from Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle* on page ix, *The Short Title Catalogue*, instead of *A Short-Title Catalogue* (p. x), *Faversham* instead of *Feversham* (p. xvi), and consistently *Cawley* or *Cauley*, instead of *Cowley, Couley*, which is the spelling authorized by both the folio and quarto *Much Ado* (pp. xxi, xxii).

Perhaps even now the editors and the publishers already regret their decision to reduce the size of the type-page by about one fifth—from 6¾ x 11⅛ inches to 5⅝ x 9¼. If not, they will live to do so. The result is still a clumsy book. The principal advantages are that the new size produces liberal outside margins for notes, and the paper will take ink.

The latest volume of the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of the

[1] See the article by Charlton Hinman, "The Halliwell-Phillipps Facsimile of the First Folio Shakespeare," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, V (1954), 395-401.

University of Virginia maintains the high standard one has come to expect of that organization and is indeed one of the meatiest volumes so far issued. Five of the articles are concerned with bibliographical problems in Shakespeare, a subject which has long ago passed out of the hands of the amateur and into those of the professional specialist. The particular topic emphasized in this issue is that of compositor determination on the basis of spelling tests, typographical evidence, and presswork, in which field of study Miss Alice Walker is pre-eminent. Miss Walker contributes two papers to the present collection. That on "Compositor Determination and Other Problems in Shakespearian Texts" was read, in absentia, before the English Institute in 1954. It describes the bibliographical techniques for studying printing-house practice, and urges the undertaking of an old-spelling edition of Shakespeare as a means of facilitating our understanding of the problems of the transmission of his text and of arriving at all possible objective evidence of the extent of corruption in dramatic texts, and of its character and source. The application of every available bibliographical technique to the plays of Shakespeare will have significance for editors of nearly all Elizabethan and Jacobean writers.

Miss Walker's second paper treats "Collateral Substantive Texts (With Special Reference to *Hamlet*)." Her concern here is with texts for which there is more than one authority and for which, therefore, the eclectic method of editing is the only one. Eclectically edited *Hamlet* texts are usually grounded on the second quarto of 1604/5, and in all cases of disagreement Q_2 readings are given the benefit of the doubt. The F_1 *Hamlet* is now generally believed to have been carelessly printed from copy which seems also to have been previously contaminated by playhouse corruptions. Miss Walker urges the need of reconsidering the principles on which collateral texts are edited, especially by determining when possible the characteristics of the printing house compositors of these texts and the disparity of workmanship they reveal. To be sure, so far the methods of editing *Hamlet* have not resulted in wide divergence of opinion on matters of text, but an eclectic editing of collateral texts on bibliographical principles, Miss Walker believes, "not only enables an editor to locate and emend the errors of the better text with greater assurance, but also throws a great deal of light on one aspect of printing-house transmission" (p. 67).

In "The Compositors of *Hamlet* Q_2 and *The Merchant of Venice*" John Russell Brown of the Shakespeare Institute re-examines the possible nature of the copy for the Q_2 *Hamlet* (1604/5) and the Roberts-Hayes

quarto of *The Merchant* (1600), and then by means of spelling, punctuation, and other criteria analyzes the composition and presswork. His conclusion is that two compositors were responsible for *Hamlet* and that the same two shared the work on *The Merchant of Venice*. Further, he finds it possible to trace the work of compositors X and Y through several other Roberts texts of the next five years: *Titus Andronicus* and *England's Helicon* (1600), Estey's *A Most Sweet and Comfortable Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, and H. Smith's *Four Sermons* (1602), Harsnet's *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603), and Warren's *The Poor Man's Passions* (1605). Further comparative study, particularly of uncharacteristic spellings in formes demonstrably set by either X or Y leads to the belief that the manuscript copy for the Q_2 *Hamlet* and the Hayes *Merchant* were in the same handwriting.

In "The Printing of *Hamlet* Q_2" Fredson Bowers of the University of Virginia studies the running titles of the play in their skeleton-formes and constructs a hypothesis about the order in which the sheets went through the press. In "The Relation Between the Second Quarto and the Folio Text of *Hamlet*" Harold Jenkins of Westfield College of the University of London reiterates J. Dover Wilson's demonstration of the superiority of the Q_2 *Hamlet* as deriving from Shakespeare's foul papers, but suggests the need of modifying this view by allowing for some use of the bad Q_1, and possibly of the version which yielded F_1, by the printers of Q_2. He further confirms Miss Walker's judgment that any significant resemblances F_1 has with the quartos are greatest with Q_2 itself, but on the basis of a comparison of F_1 and Q_2—common errors, anomalous spellings, punctuation, stage directions, etc., rejects Miss Walker's theory that the actual copy for the Folio *Hamlet* was a corrected and cut second quarto.

Enough has been said, if the point is worth re-emphasizing, to make clear that neo-bibliographical study of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans is an intricate science, reserved for the initiate, impossible to follow unless one checks every step, and then not inevitably conclusive. Few scholars, English or American, have the knowledge of practical printing and the training requisite for such study. The earlier bibliographical students, led by Professor J. Dover Wilson, tried to reconstruct the playhouse manuscript and the condition of the copy which finally got into print. The neo-bibliographical students shift the emphasis from the playhouse to the printing-house and from the copy to the printer and his method of dealing with what he had before him. In both kinds of study the possibilities for

error and speculation are infinite. There are times in these new studies when it appears that reviser A or B of the manuscript has merely given place to compositor X or Y. And one may be forgiven if at times in their confidence and ingenuity the new critics remind one of what Pertinax Surly said about alchemy: "a pretty kind of game, somewhat like tricks o' the cards, to cheat a man with charming." If this neo-bibliography results in some tidying up of Elizabethan texts and is not pursued for its own attractions, well and good. Such results still largely remain to be seen. But there is now at least more agreement among the bibliographical doctors than there once was.

Other major articles in the *Studies* treat later problems. Vinton C. Dearing of the University of California writes on "Dryden's *MacFlecknoe:* The Case for Authorial Revision," carrying further the work of Professor G. B. Evans ("The Text of Dryden's *MacFlecknoe,*" *Harvard Library Bulletin,* VII (1953), pp. 32-54), and advancing a theory of definite relationship between the texts of seven manuscripts and the printed editions of 1682 and 1684, attempting to distinguish early readings from later authorial revisions, and suggesting the likelihood that the text of 1684 is in some places corrupt. William B. Todd of Salem College (now of the Houghton Library at Harvard) in "Quadruple Imposition: An Account of Goldsmith's *Traveller*" reconsiders the derangement of the sections of the earliest version of Goldsmith's first poem, discovered by Bertram Dobell in 1902, and suggests a less simple explanation. Ernst Kyriss, a German authority on early bindings, describes "Parisian Panel Stamps Between 1480 and 1530," and C. William Miller of Temple University "A London Ornament Stock: 1598-1683" which was kept intact for a period of about ninety years. Dora Jean Ashe of East Carolina College studies the corrupt "Text of Peele's *Edward I*" and concludes from the nature of the corruption that it was not a reported text but one which represents non-authorial stage revision. Frank S. Hook of Lehigh University in "The Two Compositors in the First Quarto of Peele's *Edward I*" applies the principles of compositor determination to the 1593 quarto of the play printed by Abel Jeffes for William Bailey.

Curt F. Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library describes "The Printing of a Valerius Maximus dated 1671," some unbound sheets of which turned up in a Holland warehouse in the middle of the last century. Bruce Harkness of the University of Illinois determines "The Precedence of the 1676 Editions of Milton's *Literæ Pseudo-Senatus Anglicani*" by demonstrating that the edition of Milton's posthumous work which bears on its

title-page the device of the open-mouthed face is in fact a reprint of the edition of the same date which depicts some fruit. Cyprian Blagden of Longmans Green and Company, London, argues for the one-time existence of "The Missing Term Catalogue" for Michaelmas Term, 1695, and, on the basis of Robert Clavell's Supplement to his *General Catalogue* (1696) which contained a list of "Books Published in Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas Terms, 1695," appends a list of 71 books first published or reprinted between June and November, 1695.

Among the shorter articles may be mentioned A. T. Hazen's "The Booksellers' 'Ring' at Strawberry Hill in 1842" when at the great Walpole sale auction buyers appropriated books at a ridiculously low figure, and Robert Liddell Rowe's "Matthew Arnold and Percy William Bunting: Some New Letters, 1884-1887," which reprints from the Bunting Papers at the University of Chicago fourteen unpublished letters addressed to the editor of *The Contemporary Review* and concerned chiefly with the publication of Arnold's "A Comment on Christmas" (April, 1885), later reprinted in *St. Paul and Protestantism* (1887).

The volume closes with "A Selective Check List of Bibliographical Scholarship for 1953" compiled jointly by Rudolf Hirsch (Incunabula and Early Renaissance) and Howell J. Heaney (Late Renaissance to the Present). It is pleasing to note that such a list has become an annual feature.

Karl J. Holzknecht

New York University

Kyriss, Ernst. *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet. I. Tafelband.* Stuttgart, Max Hettler Verlag, 1953. 185 pp. 10¾ x 6¾ inches. DM 90.—.

The first volume of plates to accompany Ernst Kyriss' great work on Gothic bindings covers the first three sections of the text volume (see Papers, XLVI [1952], 284-5), *viz.*, bindings identified with monasteries, with binders known by name, and with initials and heraldic devices. It was not possible to reproduce all of the 7,000 stamps in Dr. Kyriss' personal archive of rubbings (based on the 36,000 volumes he has personally examined), and therefore the most frequently used stamps, numbered in order of frequency of use, are reproduced for each bindery. All reproductions are from rubbings and are in the original size. A few

stamps not numbered in the order of frequency are also reproduced because of certain distinctive characteristics. For nearly all binderies there is a photograph (or, in a very few cases, a photograph of a rubbing) of one typical complete cover.

The first volume of plates is on excellent paper, and Dr. Kyriss' rubbings and photographs as well as the photo-engraving are of superior quality. A second volume of plates will be published within the next few years. Publisher Max Hettler is compelled to go slowly in such an expensive project, and he deserves the gratitude of all students of the history of the book for his willingness to undertake a work of this type.

Lawrence S. Thompson

University of Kentucky

Totok, Wilhelm, and Rolf Weitzel. *Handbuch der bibliographischen Nachschlagewerke.* Frankfurt a.M., Vittorio Klostermann, 1954. xxii, 258 pp. DM 24.50.

No student of bibliography can fail to be interested in this new and important handbook. Its purpose is to serve as a manual for bibliographical instruction in library schools as well as an aid to the work of librarians, booksellers, students and scholars, and to maintain a balance between an extensive reference book and a first guide containing only bare essentials. Highly selective in their choice of titles, the compilers decided against including author and regional bibliographies. In general only those subject bibliographies are listed which deal with the whole of their particular field.

For the benefit of the beginner, the authors have written introductions to the various sections of the "general part," and annotations regarding arrangement, purpose, scope and usefulness of the bibliographies. With few exceptions titles are listed according to the "Instructions for the alphabetical catalogues of the Prussian libraries." Since the book is intended for ready reference, the author, title, and subject index is a most welcome feature.

An introduction gives a brief historical sketch of the development of bibliography throughout the past four centuries. This is followed by a discussion of such basic questions as purpose, content, scope, and form of bibliography; comparison of bibliographies and catalogues; the difference between dependent and independent, current (periodic) and retrospective

bibliographies; methods of cumulation, and the three major areas of critical-analytical, systematical-theoretical bibliography, and documentation ("bibliography of ideas").

The major portion of the book is devoted to a listing and description of bibliographies. Part I covers the field of general bibliographies (bibliographies of bibliographies; general encyclopedias; international general bibliographies; literary periodicals; catalogues of libraries; bibliographies of incunabula; national bibliographies; jobbers' catalogues; lists of forbidden literature; academic writings; periodicals and biographies). Part II deals with subject bibliographies in such areas as librarianship, theology, languages and literature, history, law, and the social sciences, with brief but precise annotations. The American reader is likely to profit more from this part of the book than the last thirty-four pages, which deal with the physical and biological sciences, medicine, agriculture and technology.

To this reviewer it would have seemed an advantage if all items had been numbered consecutively. Some repetition and duplication such as the full citation of Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue* (pp. 50 and 53), to give but one example, would thus have been avoided. Cross references to the first listing of an item might have enabled the editors to make room for such titles as the *Bulletin of Bibliography*, or the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, the most outstanding German reviewing periodical.

Errors or inaccuracies are comparatively few. The information given on p. 5 on the *Bibliographic Index* requires some modification in that the latter did not list both dependent and independent bibliographies but examined 1,500 periodicals for bibliographical information. In discussing union catalogues the authors state correctly that "the possibility of printing the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress is under consideration in Washington," but no mention is made of the existence—since 1952—of its reproduction in microfilm which, however, few libraries can afford to purchase.

According to the authors, German doctoral dissertations at present can be tracked down only by consulting series B of the *Deutsche Nationalbibliographie* and its Supplement No. 2 (p. 75). Actually, however, there exists the equivalent to *Doctoral Dissertations accepted by American Universities* in the *Jahresverzeichnis der deutschen Hochschulschriften*, edited by the Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig, and published by Verlag des Börsenvereins der deutschen Buchhändler. Its first post-war volume, covering dissertations from both East and West Germany accepted during the years 1945-1948, appeared in 1951; the second, for 1949, in 1952. Beginning with

the 1950 volume, its publisher has been FEB Verlag für Buch- und Bibliothekswesen in Leipzig.

Every bibliography, of course, is out-of-date on the day of publication, and it would be unfair to expect mention of latest available editions. In the case of Winchell's *Guide to Reference Books* the seventh edition (1951) and a *Supplement 1950-1952*, published in 1954, may be added (p. 3). There was also a seventh edition, published in 1953, of *Ulrich's Periodicals Directory* (p. 89).

A few questions might be raised as to the omission or inclusion of certain titles. Thus Ebert's *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon* (p. 11) is listed together with its English edition, but the same cannot be said of Schneider's *Einführung in die Bibliographie* (p. 2) and the theoretical introductions to the first to third editions, translated by Ralph R. Shaw as *Theory and History of Bibliography* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934). Since the authors included an annotation to *Chemical Abstracts* (p. 226) they might have done well to give, at least for the benefit of European readers, some indication as to the scope and importance of the U.S.D.A. *Bibliography of Agriculture* (p. 226).

These, however, are but minor points and do not minimize the value of this compilation. Though it is flattering for American librarianship to be recognized as leading in the field of bibliography (p. 52), let us not overlook the fact that other countries have lasting contributions to make as well.

Klaus W. Jonas

Yale University Library